

*Bulletin of the
Deccan College Research Institute*

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Dr V S Sukthankar MA PHD
General Editor of the Critical Edition of the Mahabharata
4th May 1897] [21st January 1948
(Through the Courtesy of Prof D D Kulkarni)

carried out by different scholars, in different places, to some extent independently of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, and also to several other studies of minor importance arising out of the critical edition. If he were alive today he would have rejoiced to see a volume like this, one of the many fruits of his colossal work on the great Epic to which he devoted, with a singleness of purpose and with unrivalled mastery, more than seventeen years of his life. It is, therefore, in the fitness of things that the present volume of studies should be offered as a tribute to the memory of this great scholar, the highest possible tribute that any Institute can offer.

To those connected with the management of the Institute there is still another aspect which appears significant. The principal object of the Institute is the conduct of co-ordinated research projects by the staff and students of the various departments. This Memorial Volume of the Bulletin was planned towards the close of January 1943 and executed within a year, the only condition being that all contributions must have some bearing on the critical edition. That the entire plan should have been co-ordinated and successfully concluded, maintaining the high level of scholarship that was expected from all the members of the staff, in addition to the normal research projects which had already been planned and put into execution, is proof that the work of the Institute is progressing rapidly in the right direction. It is to be hoped that this first co-operative project will bear fruit in wider fields and establish a unique tradition associated with the name of the Institute.

In conclusion I wish to congratulate the contributors on the excellence of their papers, and the Editors of this Volume, Drs V M APTE and H D SANKALIA for the efficient manner in which they have completed their task.

BOMBAY
3RD NOVEMBER 1943

B. J. WADIA

Avant-propos

When on 21st January 1943, Death laid its icy hand on the mortal frame of Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR, not only did his family suffer a sad bereavement, not only did Research Institutes like the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute and the Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute in his home province lose 'a guide, philosopher and friend' but Indian scholarship also was shocked by the passing away of a 'Critical Editor' whose labours helped to raise its international status, and the world mourned the disappearance of an Indologist of almost 'Epic' fame. Well might one reproach Remorseless Fate (in the words of the great Kālidāsa): 'In snatching him away, what, indeed, hast thou not robbed us of?'

Karunā-tumukhena mṛtyunā haratā tam tada kim na no hṛtam

But moping did nobody any good and the tears of the dear ones but injure the *preta* :

Śvajānāśru kīlātīsamītatam dahati pretam itī pracakṣate

Death should have no sting for the true philosopher whose duty on such occasions is to concentrate his attention on the preservation of the "Famebody" (*yāsaḥ-śarīra*) which Illustrious Ones like SUKTHANKAR leave behind them. It was in this spirit that, at the Condolence Meeting held on 23rd January 1943, the following resolution was placed on record :

The sudden and tragic demise on 21st January 1943 of Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR has removed a figure of international reputation from the world of scholars. The loss is almost irreparable and particularly so to India, as it was the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata on which he was engaged for the last 17 years and which he had made his life work which helped to put India on the map of the scholarly world. He was connected in one capacity or another with several learned Societies, Academies and Research Institutions in Europe, America and India—he was incidentally the second Indian to be elected Honorary Member by the American Oriental Society—but with the Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute he was closely connected in more capacities than one, as Member of the Reorganization Committee, Member of the first Council of Management and the Committee of Direction

The Staff of this Institute have, therefore, decided to pay their humble tribute to the memory of the departed Savant by bringing out the fifth volume of its *Bulletin* as a Memorial Volume in his honour on the first anniversary of his death.

At the instance of the Director who moved the above resolution, the undersigned agreed to edit this Volume, which, in the fitness of things should be devoted mainly to Mahābhārata Studies. The reasons for this thematic uniformity should be obvious. It is true that Dr SUKTHANKAR was a versatile Indologist. He had all the natural gifts and acquired attainments which enabled him to excurse into and dominate many fields of research and *he adorned whatever he touched*. He gave ample evidence, for example of his special aptitude and training in philology and linguistics which continued to be his favourite subjects until he switched on to the Mahābhārata. His inquiring gaze was also directed to special objectives in the field of palæography, epigraphy, archæology and Sanskrit literature—objectives which he held with a masterly eye. Nevertheless, it must be said that it was a wise Providence that decreed on August 4, 1925, that thereafter his life be dedicated to the organization of that great project of national—nay, international—importance, namely the preparation of a Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata, the solid foundations whereof were laid by the publication of the completed Ādiparvan with the Prolegomena, which was hailed by WINTERNITZ in 1934 as 'the most important event in the history of Sanskrit philology since the publication of MAX MULLER'S edition of the RgVeda with Sayana's Commentary'. There were certain qualities that pre-eminently fitted him for this great undertaking, such as his passion for the application of scientific methods, his objectivity of approach, critical acumen, attention to details, precision and economy of words, his punctiliousness about the typography and get-up of a book and his fastidiousness about its correct printing and proper appearance generally. It is again significant that he made his *debut* in research in 1914 with a Doctorate dissertation, connected with a Critical Edition of Śakātāyana's Grammar (I I) with the Commentary *Cintāmaṇi* and that the Master who initiated him into the science of text-criticism was Prof. HEINRICH LUDERS who declared, with reference to the completed Ādiparvan in 1933, that though the number of his pupils was legion, not one had *such* brilliant work to his credit. *The Mahābhārata work to which he dedicated the last 17 ripe years of his life may therefore be said to be his life-work*. His single-minded devotion and complete identification with this task can be gauged by the well-known fact that though he lived all these years in Poona, he was almost unknown to the social circles of that city. To conclude, then, his *magnum opus* was his work on the Critical

Edition of the Great Epic including the series of papers such as Epic Studies, Epic Questions and the like in which he examined in great detail various related problems

Arrangements have now been made at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute to carry on the work of the Critical Edition where he left it and we have no doubt that the hope expressed by Dr SUKTHANKAR in his last public utterance in Poona on 5th January 1943 will be fulfilled. But the title 'A Three Dimensional View of the Great Epic', of the lectures he was delivering before the University of Bombay in the beginning of 1943 and in the midst of which he died was very significant and shows that the *corpus* of the Mahabharata was not his only interest though he found very little time for anything else till then and that he was proposing to take up (in what leisure he could spare) the work of higher text criticism or the task of interpreting the soul of the Epic also.

It is here that scholars all the world over can step in and continue his good work. It is our earnest hope therefore that students of Sanskrit literature, linguists, archaeologists, historians, sociologists and philosophers will continue to exploit the *firm* material presented by the Critical Edition of the Great Epic with all the greater enthusiasm now, since they are no longer exposed to the risk of having to base their conclusions on the shifting sands of any uncritical and multiple text of the Mahabharata.

The present Memorial Volume is a modest attempt in this direction as will be seen from an analysis of its contents. They cover a few aspects of the lower and some aspects of the higher text criticism of the Great Epic. Readers will find for example a statistical and critical study of some literary and linguistic material (comprised in the constituted text of the Critical Edition and the variants recorded in the critical apparatus), descriptive and palæographic notes on some manuscripts (new and old), general studies of the sociological, iconographical, mythological, philosophical and geographical data in the Great Epic, literary surveys illustrative of the influence of the Mahabharata on post epical literature as evidenced by citations from and summaries of the work, and finally accounts of some early Persian and Arabic versions of the Great Epic, revealing the catholicity of Islamic Culture which interested itself in the literary heritage of India long before the Muslims came into direct physical contact with the country after its invasion.

Now to the pleasant task of acknowledging the help rendered in the preparation of this Memorial Volume. The Authorities of the Bhandarkar Institute have laid us under deep obligation by allowing us to include the very valuable article by Professor EDGERTON of Yale University, which was to form part originally of his Introduction to the *Sabhāparvan* critically edited by him. Dr. S. K. BELVALKAR, the present General Editor, deserves our thanks for kindly giving us in advance the printed formes of *Sabhā* for consultation.

Our grateful thanks are due to Mr. B. J. WADIA, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bombay and the Chairman of our Council of Management, for sparing time from the all-too crowded routine of a strenuous life to write a graceful Foreword, and to Dr. S. M. KATRE, the Director, for facilitating our editorial work in all its stages by his unfailing help and co-operation. The ready response of the various contributors considerably lightened our task and it is to their enthusiasm and hard work that we owe the timely and appropriate publication of the Volume today, the first anniversary of Dr. SUKTHANKAR'S death. The burden of our editorial duties was lightened to a great extent by the very willing help rendered from time to time by Dr. Mrs. Iravati KARVÉ and Mr. C. H. SHAIKH, our Readers in Sociology and Semitics respectively. In conclusion it is only fair to add that the Manager of the Government Central Press and his Staff deserve our warmest thanks for enabling us to bring out this Volume punctually in spite of the short time at their disposal, because in this particular case, the time of its publication was as much of the essence as the contents of the Volume.

V. M. APTE

H. D. SANKALIA

21ST JANUARY 1944.

VISHNU SITARAM SUKTHANKAR

AND

HIS CONTRIBUTION TO INDOLOGY

Very little is on record regarding the life of Vishnu Sitaram SUKTHANKAR. The present essay perhaps anticipates a little the detailed and critical literary biography promised to us by the Sukthankar Memorial Edition Committee along with a complete reissue of all his published writings,¹ but in this labour of love the writer has to depend almost entirely on the published work of SUKTHANKAR and some of the unpublished material which he had the good fortune of being shown both by SUKTHANKAR and his heirs later.²

Any visitor to the Mahābhārata Department of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Poona will be as much impressed by the two handsome bound volumes containing all the published reviews in English, French, German and Italian, and a number of Indian languages as well, of SUKTHANKAR's great work on the critical edition as by the silent but efficient work of the department which SUKTHANKAR organised during the very first year when he assumed charge of the General Editorship of this colossal undertaking. But these reviews and notices touch only one side of his deep and extensive scholarship—the final phase, as it were, of a continuous life of scholarship and active research. This final phase of more than seventeen years of single minded devotion and whole-hearted dedication to the cause of the Great Epic was a fitting conclusion to a full life given over entirely to Indological research.

We must be thankful to an old custom in the German Universities for a brief account of SUKTHANKAR's early life. This custom requires every candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy to append to his thesis

¹ Cf. the Appeal issued by this Committee.

² The writer would like to express here his thanks to Mrs. Malinibai SUKTHANKAR and the two sons of Dr. SUKTHANKAR for the facilities given to him to examine SUKTHANKAR'S Nachlass. He is also indebted to Professors P. K. GODE and D. D. KOSAMBI for the help they have given him in supplying their own copies of SUKTHANKAR'S inscribed reprints for reference.

his *Lebenslauf*, a short account of himself up to the period of submitting his dissertation. According to his own statement contained in his *Lebenslauf*,³ SUKTHANKAR was born on 4th May 1887 in Bombay as son of Engineer Sitaram Vishnu SUKTHANKAR and his wife Dhaklibai; he studied up to high-school standard in Bombay and proceeded to the University of Cambridge where he took up the study of Mathematics, and in 1906 obtained the B.A. degree of this University. In the summer of 1911 he went to Berlin and applied himself principally to the study of Indian Philology. Here he attended the lectures of Professors BECKH, ERDMANN, IMMELMANN, ED. LEHMANN, LOESCHKE, LUDERS, MARQUART, MITTWOCH, RIEHL, E. SCHMIDT, W. SCHULZE, THOMAS, v. WILAMOWITZ MOELLENDORF and WOLFFLIN. For his main subject, Indian Philology, he was under the guidance of Professor LUDERS, and under him he prepared a critical edition of Śākatāyana's Grammar (*Adhyāya* 1, *pāda* 1) with the commentary of Yaksavarman entitled *Cintāmaṇi*, accompanied by German translation and notes, and submitted on 18th June 1914. The dissertation was, however, printed in 1921 and published on 21st May 1921.

Some further details are available from a *Synopsis of Career* which SUKTHANKAR himself prepared and printed in August 1924. Under personal details he says that he was the grandson of the late Mr. Shantaram Narayan, Government Pleader, and that he belonged to the Gauda Sārasvat Brahmin caste. The family of SUKTHANKAR appears to have settled down in Bombay for several generations, with land interests. He studied at St. Xavier's College, Bombay, during 1902-3; at St. John's College, Cambridge, during 1903-7; at Edinburgh University in 1909 and finally at Berlin University during 1910-14. He secured the M.A. degree of Cambridge in 1912 with the Mathematical Tripos (in 1906) and the Ph.D. of Berlin in 1914 in Philology and Philosophy. During the next two years he was a Government Research Scholar in the Archaeological Survey Department of the Government of India, and was serving as Assistant Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle for four years (1915-19). In addition he was the joint-Editor to the *Annals* of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute during the first two years of its life (1919-20), a Lecturer at the Annual Convention of the American Oriental Society, 1920; Travelling Lecturer at different

³ *Die Grammatik Śākatāyana's* p. 91

one hand, the part of *KP* attributed to Mammata and on the other, that attributed to Allata, he sets the matter beyond the pale of doubt. It is demonstrated that while the author of the latter end of *KP* depends for his whole material practically on *KL* and does not hesitate to borrow phrases and expressions *verbatim* from the latter, Mammata himself makes use reservedly of the new ideas brought into *Alamkāraśāstra* by Rudraṭa and looks for his authorities amongst writers older than Rudrata. In the second part⁶ SUKTHANKAR points out that a portion of the *Vṛtti* to the definition of the *Alamkāra Samuccaya*, in *KP*, does not originate from either Mammata or Allata, and that it must be regarded as a later interpolation. A third section⁷ deals with the practice of quoting names merely *honoris causa*, as common among the grammarians such as Jainendra and Śākatāyana, paralleled by the facts which centre round the verse no. 860 in the *Kāvyaaprakāśa*. It is pointed out that the mention of the names Udbhata and Bhāmaha by the commentators on this verse is merely *pūjārtham*.

The scientific training which SUKTHANKAR received at Cambridge while preparing himself for the Mathematical Tripos, stood him in good stead during his Berlin days. Although he took up Indian Philology and Philosophy as his main branch of study, this Mathematical training prepared him for a scientific outlook on matters literary or historical, and there was no study or investigation which he considered was low enough for a scholar if it led to proper utilisation of the material available. Thus we find him, in 1914, preparing a very detailed Index to Sir Ramkrishna Gopal BHANDARKAR's *Vaisnavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*⁸. The preparation of an index of this type involves considerable labour and a deep understanding on the part of the indexer especially when he is separated from the author of the work indexed by nearly 6000 miles. This is exactly what happened in the case of this particular index, and the training involved in its preparation must have been an education to SUKTHANKAR under the direct supervision of Prof. LUDERS.

⁶ *Ibid* 533-41.

⁷ *Ibid* 541-43.

⁸ Published in the *Grundriss der Indoarischen Philologie und Altertumskunde* in 1914

There is now a gap of three years before SUKTHANKAR once again comes in with further contributions. This was evidently the period when he was attached to the Archaeological Survey of India as a Government of India scholar and was gathering varied experience, particularly in Epigraphy. The newly discovered Asokan Edict of Maski was being entrusted to Rao Sahib H. Krishna SASTRI, officiating Government Epigraphist to the Government of India for editing towards the second half of 1915. At this time SUKTHANKAR was studying South-Indian Epigraphy and Palæography in the office of the Government Epigraphist and it is not unlikely that much of the work in connection with the Maski Edict was actually done by SUKTHANKAR. For he had received his training in this branch under LUDERS, one of the most resourceful scholars in Europe who was equally at home with such difficult epigraphs or fragmentary MSS. as with printed texts. The help which the Rao Sahib received from SUKTHANKAR in his editorial work is acknowledged by him in the following words. The following text, translation and notes have been prepared by me with the co-operation of Dr V. S. SUKTHANKAR, M.A., Ph.D., a Government of India Research Scholar, who is studying South-Indian Epigraphy in my office.”

During this period there are two Progress Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, from the pen of SUKTHANKAR, respectively for 1916-17 and 1917-18. His first tour of exploration took him about two months round the Sirohi State¹⁰ where, in addition to the surveying of historical monuments, he filled up the lacunæ in the collection of the inscriptions of the Paramaras of Ābu, most of which were located within this State. With the material collected during this tour, in addition to what was already on record in the office of the Western Circle, it was thought possible to reconstruct a skeleton of the history of this family of Rajput chiefs from the middle of the eleventh century to about the middle of the fourteenth century A.D. SUKTHANKAR had projected a separate study of this interesting period on the basis of these records for the Director-General's *Annual of Archaeology*, but other and more important work must have prevented the fulfilment of this project. This exploration covered the sites at Or with a Vishnu and Jain temples,

⁹ *The New Asokan Edict of Maski* (—Hyderabad Archaeological Series No. 1) 1915, p. 3.

¹⁰ *Prog. Report of A. S. I. West in Circ. 1916-17*, part IV, pp. 59-72.
at 1. 62-2.

Girvar where a Śiva Liṅga and pedestal had been unearthed : Datānī believed to be the scene of the battle fought in V. 1640 between Mahārāo Surtān of Sirohī and Emperor Akbar, in which the former was victorious ; Makāval with a pillar inscription of the Paramāra Dhārāvārsa, dated V. 1276, Śrāvana-sudi 3 Monday ; Nitorā with, among other temples, a shrine of Śūrya and a temple of Pārśvanātha ; and a number of other interesting places.

The second Report for 1917-18 mostly deals with Epigraphy and Numismatics. The chief interest lies around the Hindu and Buddhist Inscriptions, including the two sets of copper-plates of the Kadamba Kings Ravivarman and Krishnavarman ; two Caulukya Plates referring to the reign of the Caulukya Karna, dated respectively Śaka 996 and Vikrama 1131 ; two Valabhi Plates dated Samvat 210 and issued by order of the Mahāsāmanta Mahārāja Dhruvasena I, the Mastraka King of Valabhi. One of the most interesting of epigraphs dealt with at this time are the inscriptions at Dhar known as Sarpabandha, engraved on the pillars of an old grammar school called the Bhoja Śālā at Dhar. One of the inscriptions is a chart of the Sanskrit alphabet and other of verbal terminations. This latter is taken from a chapter of the Kātantra. These epigraphs are dated co. 1150 A.D. on the strength of the names Paramāra Naravarman and Udayāditya of Malva. Another important discovery was the Sanchi inscription of the time of Svāmi Jivadāman which provides a date and location for Svāmi-Jivadāman, the father of the founder of the third Dynasty of Satraps in Surāstra who was up till then known only through the coins of his son Svāmi-Rudrasimha II.

In the *R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*¹¹ appears a short paper by SUKTHANKAR entitled "Palæographic Notes". In this paper SUKTHANKAR's knowledge of Indian palæography is exhibited with the same careful precision which always characterised similar studies of LUDERS. The main object of investigation was to find out the exact period at which 'Acute-angled' or 'Nail-headed' alphabet of Northern India was supplanted by the rival Northern Nāgarī. It was clear that up to the beginning of the eighth century (A.D. 708 : the Multāi plates) the acute-angled alphabet was still current in Northern India; on the other hand the Kanheri inscriptions (A.D. 851 and 877) unmistakably show the use of the

style which he adopted in the famous *Prolegomena*, published 16 years later. One remark is significant ' for it must be remembered that even the author of the *Pārśvābhyudaya* is separated by at least two centuries from the time of Kālidāsa,—a period which is long enough in India to engender interpolations. Each work represents the version locally current at the particular epoch to which the commentator belongs. And neither in one case the seclusion of the Kasmīr Valley, nor in the other, the proximity to the poet by—admitting Prof PATHAK's estimation to be correct—three centuries, is a sufficient guarantee to the entire purity of the respective texts.' Readers of the *Prolegomena* may recollect the force of these arguments with reference to the classification of the different classes of the *Mahābhārata* manuscripts.

The second critical review is of Dr S K BELVALKAR's Mandlik Gold Medal Essay¹⁴ entitled 'An Account of the different existing systems of Sanskrit Grammar,' now known as *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar* in brief. This short book of 148 pages was published in 1915, and the review appears in the May 1917 issue of the *Indian Antiquary*. This is a model review: the introductory part deals objectively with what the author has actually to say in the book. The latter part of the review is strictly critical, pointing out the deficiencies of the book. Some of the sentences are characteristic of SUKTHANKAR at his best. 'It (=the book) should be indispensable to any one who intends writing a more comprehensive work, discussing in *extenso*, the many controversial points which are either only lightly touched upon by Dr BELVALKAR or not noticed at all.' Similarly in discussing Dr BELVALKAR's treatment of the relationship between Pāṇini and Kātyāyana he refers to the obvious overlooking by the author of KIELHORN's brochure on the same subject published forty years earlier (Bombay 1876). In these and other remarks there is not the least trace of that heavy-weight authority which is characteristic of uninformed critics whose prolonged experience and long possession of a scientific reputation is, however, counteracted by superficial observations regarding the work of others. SUKTHANKAR never posed as an authority in any subject and did not assume that attitude of superiority which is a mark of lesser lights. In all his dealings he was straight-forward, and especially in scholarly matters his attitude was purely impersonal. It is on this account that his pronouncements on any work, even when he pleaded ignorance of the subject, are valuable in themselves.

¹⁴ *Ibid* 46, 106-8

During 1918 SUKTHANKAR published his translation of JACOBI's paper on the Authenticity of the Kauṭīliya in the *Indian Antiquary*.¹⁵ This is perhaps one of the two occasions when he attempted to translate into English, for the benefit of Indian scholars, some of the foreign contributions. But any one acquainted with his style can see that the work is not a mere translation and that the translator has taken the trouble to present it in good English which has always given a personal charm to his writings.

The first epigraphs to be edited by SUKTHANKAR (other than the Maski edicts of Aśoka) are published in 1919. The new Inscription of Sirī-Pulumāvi,¹⁶ a Prakrit record inscribed on a rock, firmly buried in the soil, lying midway between the villages Myākadoni and Chinnakadaburu in the Ādōṇī Tālukā of the Bellari District, Madras Presidency, was edited by SUKTHANKAR as No. 9 for 1919 in the *Epigraphia Indica*. The importance of this epigraph lies in the site of the inscribed rock, fixing definitely a point south of the Krishna to which the sway of the Śātaavāhanas extended. The other published as No. 4 for 1919 in *EI* is the Porumāmilla Tank Inscription of Bhāskara Bhavadura¹²⁻¹³ (Śaka 1291, the exact tithi being on Monday, the 15th October, 1369 A.D.) is a long record of 127 lines inscribed on two slabs, set up in front of the ruined Bhairava temple. This inscription is interesting on account of the many obscure technical terms which still need elucidation.

The beginning a new interest is proved by SUKTHANKAR's notice of Bhāsa's *Cūṛudatta* edited by R. Ganapati ŚĀSTRĪ of Trivandrum. This notice, published in *QJMS* for 1919, is the precursor of a long series of papers by SUKTHANKAR during the following five years. This short notice illustrates very clearly his special leanings towards textual criticism as an acute philologist with mathematical training. This particular training is clear in the use of the words 'assumption, argument, proof,' etc.; and according to his findings *Cūṛudatta* is a fragmentary play.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 47. 157-61; 157.55

¹⁶ *EI* 14. 153-5

¹²⁻¹⁴ *Ibid.* 14. 97-100

The year 1920 is one of the most fruitful in SUKTHANKAR's career as an Indologist. There are altogether seven papers published during this year, two of which are contributed to the first volume of the newly founded *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* in Poona. The first of these two papers,¹⁹ entitled 'On the Home of the so-called Āndhra Kings' is a result of his study of the Myakadoni Inscription of Śiri-Pulumāvi referred to above. As a result of unscientific speculation the comparison of epigraphic and numismatic data with those recorded in the Purāṇas (the critical editing of which texts is still a desideratum) the Śātavāhanas were connected with the Andhra dynasty and placed before the public as an authentic account of the fortunes of the family. SUKTHANKAR penetrates skilfully through this morass of facts and points out that at the bottom of this fiction there is only constructive historical imagination which has been misled by the Purāṇic account, and that this account itself is of such a mixed character with its *variae lectiones* that it would be futile to arrive at a reliable and in every way a satisfactory text. Considering the find-places of the inscriptions of this dynasty it is found that the following distribution is noticed: Nanaghat, Nasik, Bhelsa, Kanheri, Karle, Myakadoni, Amaravati, Cina (Krishna Dist.) and Kodavolu. The earliest inscriptions are all from Western India and it is not until the time of Vāsiṣṭhiputra-Siri-Pulumāvi that we meet with an inscription of any king of this dynasty from the Āndhradeśa. Moreover the expression *Satavahanihora*—which reminds one of the expression *Sotohani-rottha* of the Hira-Hadagalli copper-plate grant—appears to indicate that the tribe to which this line of kings belonged must be regarded as autochthons of the inland province so named, which has not yet been identified with certainty but which lay, probably, considerably, to the west of the Āndhra country. A consideration of the dates of the inscriptions and their sites indicates that the Śātavāhanas had first made themselves masters of the northern portion of the western Ghats, and even subdued some part of Mālava, before turning their attention to the conquest of the Āndhradeśa. This epigraphic evidence is remarkably borne out by numismatic evidence and the earliest coins are found in Western India. SUKTHANKAR's discussion of the views of RAPSON and Vincent SMITH is masterly and trenchant. All the evidence marshalled points to the south-western parts of the Deccan plateau as the possible home of this interesting dynasty.

¹⁹ *Annals BORI* 1.21.-42.

The second paper contributed to the *Annals* is on the Besnagar Inscription of Heliodoros.²⁰ Discovered providentially by Sir John MARSHALL, this little Prakrit record has engaged the attention of a number of distinguished scholars in Indian history, and a scholarly edition of the inscription by J. PH. VOGEL was published in the *Annual Report* of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1908-09. But in all these studies the historical interest centring round the name of the Graeco-Indian king Antialkidas and the conversion of a Greek Ambassador in India to the cult of Vāsudeva preponderates over every other interest so that the language and textual criticism of the inscription has become the chief theme of investigation by SUKTHAKNAR in this paper. One important point is clearly established by SUKTHANKAR: that the writer of the inscription must have been a Greek who rendered word for word the original Greek model into the corresponding Prakrit, and that this Greek might conceivably be Heliodoros. The anomalies of Prakrit construction become clear when Greek syntax is invoked to our aid. This is particularly important both for Old and Middle Indo-Aryan syntax, for an analysis on this line of doubtful constructions might ultimately lead us to the unravelling of the substrata which have affected the growth of Indo-Aryan in its long history.

The short note on an Assyrian tablet²¹ found in Bombay is in reality an announcement of a unique discovery in Bombay, with the readings and English rendering by Dr. C. E. KEISER. Similarly the short review of LUDERS' *Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen*²² is a timely notice bringing out the importance of this work for several branches of Indian philology, and in particular to Indian palæography and Middle Indian dialectology, as also to the theory of Indian dramaturgy.

Curiosities of Hindu Epigraphy is the title of one of the least known of SUKTHANKAR's papers. It appeared in the *Asian Review* for October-December 1920,²³ the only English monthly journal published in Japan. It is a popular paper which brings out the characteristics peculiar to Indian epigraphs; in his wide survey he includes the famous Piprāwā Relic Inscription, the Besnagar Inscription of Heliodoros, the Armenian Memorial Stone epitaph near the city of Madras (ca. 1663 A.D. corresponding to the year 1112 of the Armenian patriarch Moses) in the

²⁰ *Ibid* 1. 59-66.

²¹ *JAOS* 40-142-4

²² *Modern Review*, July 1920, p. 37.

²³ Pp. 725-7; 857-60.

Armenian language and script; a Syrian inscription in a small church at Travancore besides Pahlavi records. Similarly he refers to discoveries including the fragment of an Aramaic inscription exhumed on the site of the ancient city of Taxila from the debris of a house of the 1st century B C. No reference to epigraphic curiosities could be complete without a mention of the monumental slabs from Central India on which lengthy poems and dramas were engraved by royal patrons of literature and the fine arts. In the brief compass of a short general article SUKTHANKAR has touched upon the many-sided nature of Indian epigraphs, and includes reference to the rare inscription, perhaps the only one of its kind in the world, written in characters of the seventh century, engraved on a massive block, consisting of the text of notes of seven typical modes of Hindu Music arranged for the Indian lute.

The interest which SUKTHANKAR had evinced a little earlier in noticing the edition of Bhāsa's *Cārudatta*, bears fruit now, in the year 1920 and initiates his series of STUDIES IN BHĀSA of which altogether seven were published. The Introduction to this series²⁴ is remarkable for the breadth of vision and the catholicity of approach which SUKTHANKAR exhibits and which becomes hereafter the hall-mark of everything that he writes. The first series deals with certain archaisms in the Prakrit of the dramas ascribed to Bhāsa and published in the Trivendrum Sanskrit Series. These archaisms are tabulated as under: 1. *amhām* (< Sk. *asmākam*) in opposition to later *amhānam*, the form *amhō(h)am* being reminiscent of Pāli *omhākam* and Aśvaghoṣa's *tum(h)āk(ā)am*; 2. The root *arh-* in the forms *arhō* and *arhādi* are reminiscent of Aśvaghoṣa's *arhesi*; 3. *ohoko* (< Sk. *aham*), 4. *ōmo*, 5. *Kario* (< Sk. *kr̥tvo*) as compared with Śāurasenī *koḍuo*, 6. *kisso*, *kissa* (< Sk. *kaśyo*); 7. *khu* (< Sk. *kholu*); 8. *tovo* (< Sk. *tovo*), 9. *tuam* (< Sk. *tvam*); 10. *disso*, *diśso-* (< Sk. *dr̥syo-*) and 11. *voam* (< Sk. *voyam*). A consideration of these eleven archaisms which are found side by side, in some cases, with later or more modern forms, shows its affinities to Aśvaghoṣa's Prakrit, and goes to prove that below the accretion of ignorant mistakes and unauthorised corrections for which successive generations of scribes and diaskenasts should be held responsible, there lies in these dramas a solid bedrock of archaic Prakrit, which is much older than any we know from the dramas of the so-called classical period of Sanskrit literature.

In the following year the second series of Studies in Bhāsa was published dealing with the versification of the metrical portions of these dramas.²⁵ In this study he has intensively pursued certain characteristics of the versification of the metrical portions which seemingly distinguish them from those of the works of the classical period, and which, moreover, appear to suggest points of contact with the epic literature. It also embraces a study of metrical solecisms of Sanskrit passages, with the intention of ascertaining their exact number and of discussing their nature. The analysis of the metres shows the employment of the Śloka, Vasantatilaka, Upajāti, Śārdūlavikrīḍita, Mālinī, Puspitāgrā, Vamśastha, Śālinī, Śikharinī, Praharsinī, Aryā, Sragdharā, Harinī, Vaiśvadevi, Suvadanā, Upagīti, Dandaka and abbreviated Dandaka, Drutavilambita, Prthvī, Bhujangaprayāta, Vaitāliya, the last seven of which occur but once; the order given is according to the descending order of their frequency totals in the entire group of plays. A comparison of these with STENZLER's tables²⁶ shows that with the exception of the so-called abbreviated Dandaka of twenty-four syllables and an undetermined Prakrit metre, the metres of these dramas are those of the classical poesy. The frequency table for the first four metres enumerated above gives 436 for the Śloka, 179 for the Vasantatilaka, 121 for the Upajāti and 92 for the Śārdūlavikrīḍita in a grand total of 1092 verses. This fact shows the general preponderance of the Śloka to all the rest, to the extent of more than thirty-nine or very nearly forty per cent. of the total. It is found that Bhavabhūti is the only classical dramatist who employs the Śloka frequently with the percentage represented by 129:385 for *Mahāvīracarita* and 89:253 for the *Uttararāmacarita* and 14:224 in the *Mālaśimādhava*. A comparison of these results with those determined for other classical dramatists makes abundantly clear that the preference for Ślokas is a feature of the metrical technique of these plays, in which they differ from the dramas of the classical age. The list of solecisms so far as the Sanskrit metre is concerned includes two cases of irregular sandhi, twelve of change of voice, two of change of conjugation, one each of irregular feminine participle and of irregular absolute, two of simplex for the causative, three of irregular compounds, one of an irregular syntactical combination and several anomalous formations. All these investigations tend to prove that the Sanskrit of the verses included in the Bhāsa

²⁵ *Ibid* 41. 107-30

²⁶ *ZDMG* 44.1— edited by KISHAN.

dramas differ in certain minute particulars from the Sanskrit of the classical drama, and reflects a stage of literary development preceding the classical drama which culminates in the works of Kalidasa and Bhavabhūti. This conclusion is parallel to the one already arrived at by consideration of the Prakrit archaisms contained in the plays.

During 1921 SUKTHANKAR also published Three Ksatrapa Inscriptions in collaboration with R. D. BANERJI as No. 17 in the *Epigraphia Indica* (vol. XVI)²⁷. These inscriptions are exhibited in the Watson Museum of Antiquities at Rajkot, and though they had been published before, the joint editors re-edited them in order to have them properly illustrated and to render them more easily accessible. The first is the Gunda Inscription of the time of Ksatrapa Rudrasimha (the year 103) ca. 181 A.D., the object of the inscription is to record the digging and constructing at the village of Rasopadra of a well by the senapati Rudrabhūti son of the senapati Bapaka the Ābhira. The second is the Gadha (Jasdan) Inscription of the time of the Maha Ksatrapa Rudrasena (the year 127-126), ca. 204-5 A.D. The third is the Junagadh Inscription of the time of the grandson of the Ksatrapa Jayadāman. One word is extremely interesting in the second of these three inscriptions. *Śātra* on which some comment has been offered by the editors in a footnote, but no satisfactory explanation could be arrived at, although the meaning assigned by BANERJI is to our mind the nearest approach to the true state of affairs.

No. 19 in the same volume of *Epigraphia Indica* is an edition of two Kadamba Grants²⁸ from Sirsi by SUKTHANKAR. The first copper-plate grant is that of Ravivarman (the [3] 5th year) and the second of Kṛṣṇavarman II (the 19th year). The chief claim to our attention lies in the regnal years in which they are dated.

Before we turn to SUKTHANKAR's dissertation published in this year there is a short review of E. R. HAVELL's *Handbook of Indian Art* which must draw our attention²⁹. While he is in general agreement with the

²⁷ *EI* 16 233-41

²⁸ *Ibid.* 16 264-72

²⁹ *The Freeman* 7 December 1921 pp. 308-10

main thesis of Mr. HAVELL there are many matters of detail and of interpretation where he would differ from him. The following lines are suggestive :

To Mr. HAVELL and the critics of his school, all Indian art is the product of some sort of subjective emanation informed with spirituality and religiosity. When Mr. HAVELL says, for instance, that 'the pleasure-gardens of the Mohammedan dynasties had the religious character which runs through all Indian art,' he overshoots the mark. Forgetting that he has considered only the religious aspect of Hindu art, he comes to the erroneous conclusion that all Indian art bears a religious character. As a matter of fact, Hindu architecture is not any more spiritual than is Greek or Gothic architecture. Nor is it true to say that the Hindu art is the product of a yogic hypersensitive consciousness, any more than the best specimens of mediæval Christian art are that *** The truth of the matter is that when due allowance is made for superficial differences in schools and epochs there is an essential identity of artistic inspiration between East and West.

The above view is typical of SUKTHANKAR's scientific approach to problems : wading through the *minutiae* or *differentiae* in their space-time context and arriving at the central theme which shows an essential identity or uniformity throughout. This is clearly borne out later in his great *Mahābhārata* work.

The most important publication of this year is naturally SUKTHANKAR's dissertation which had been completed just prior to the beginning of the first World War, in 1914. The title of the dissertation is : "Die Grammatik Śākatāyana's (Ādhyaya I, Pāda 1) nebst Yaśavarma's Kommentar, mit Uebersetzung der Sūtras und Erläuterungen Versehen." It gives a specimen of the grammatical sūtras of Śāk. based upon three Manuscripts, B, P and H. Although these three Mass do not differ from each other in major questions, they appear to be independent of each other in their minor variations. The constitution of the text is principally based on B ; the text occupies the first 33 pages (13-45) ; the *variorum* *lectiones* cover pages 46-51 ; the second part, consisting of the translation into German with explanations of the text covers the rest of the 90 pages. As remarked in the *Bombay Chronicle* for February 1915, this dissertation is at the same time a contribution to the history of Sanskrit Grammar. Evidence for its being so is to be found in the critical review of BELVALKAR's *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*,³⁰ and the rejoinder of Prof. PATHAK on

³⁰ See fn 14 *supra*

the authorship of the *Amoghavṛtti* subsequently³¹ SUKTHANKAR himself considered that this dissertation was to him only a means of training in the modern scientific investigation so successfully applied by Western Orientalists and Indologists of the greatness of LUDERS, and that the work by itself was not of any great merit. But this was at a time when all his energies were absorbed in the great work of editing the *Mahābhārata*, it was, therefore, a matter of considerable surprise to him that there are a number of important references to this early work of his in RENOU's *Grammaire Sanscrite*.

Two inscriptions were edited by SUKTHANKAR during 1922. The first one is the Vākātaka Inscription from Ganj,³² and like the Kutharā inscription discovered by CUNNINGHAM (commonly known as the Nachanē-ki-tālāi inscription) is one of the oldest records of the Vākātaka dynasty, and is practically identical with it. SUKTHANKAR's freedom from bias is witnessed in this editorial work.

BÜHLER assigns the copper plates of the Vakataka Pravarasena II the grandson of Pethavisena I to the fifth or sixth century A.D. It is not known to me on what grounds. I have examined the inscriptions of the Vakataka dynasty and compared them with the allied inscriptions engraved during the time of the Guptas of the kings of Śarabhapura, of Tivara of Kōśala and of the early Kadamba kings without being able to arrive at any definite conclusion regarding the age of the Vakataka inscriptions. BÜHLER'S date however appears to me to be far too early.

When he is not certain of his results, SUKTHANKAR never makes any overstatement or shoots over the mark. The caution of the scholar trained in mathematical thinking is in evidence in every statement that he makes.

The second group consists of two new grants of Dhruvasena (I) from Pālitānā³³. The first grant is edited from the plates of Dhruvasena I (Valabhī)-Sam(vat)207, and SUKTHANKAR's discussion of the controversial expression *-prāpīya* or *-prāveśya* is very interesting. The date of the inscription corresponds to A.D. 527. The second grant contains only the opening portion of a land-grant of the Maitraka king Dhruvasena I. This is concluded with a Postscript wherein another plate issued by the same king in the year 206 (corresponding to A.D. 525) is edited.

³¹ *Annals BORI* 1

³² *EI* 17 12 14

³³ *Ibid* 17 105 110

with interest and excitement. According to a searching critic in the *Voice of India*,³⁷ SUKTHANKAR's rendering mirrors the truth, lucidity and vigour of the original. A very pellucid preface which hides extensive reading, shows that the burden of the story is the triumph of steadfast, undying love, for which no sacrifice is too costly. Another critic in the *Modern Review*³⁸ agrees that Dr SUKTHANKAR is one of that rare group of Indologists who have combined with a passion for occidental method a mastery of the indigenous technique of Sanskrit grammar. Hence his translation of Bhāsa's masterpiece is at once transparent and suggestive, useful for the general reader and illuminating from the point of view of textual elucidation.

Studies in Bhāsa IV deals with a very detailed concordance of the dramas.³⁹ The introductory paragraph of this paper, with the words italicised by us, indicates the scope and method of approach, which has been SUKTHANKAR's special characteristic.

Ganapati SASTRI and other scholars after him, who uphold the theory of the authorship of Bhāsa, have sought to justify their ascription to the entire group of thirteen dramas to one common author on the strength of some stray similarities of expression and analogies of thought to which they have drawn attention in their writings. The evidence that has hitherto been adduced must, however, be said to be inadequate to prove the claim in its entirety. The recurrent and parallel passages collected by them, although they show in a general way that this group of thirteen anonymous plays contains a number of ideas and expressions in common, do not suffice to establish the common authorship. It has not been realized by these scholars that the ascription of common authorship has to be justified and proved rigorously in the case of each drama separately. Only intensive study of the diction and idiosyncracies of the dramas, taken individually, will enable us to pronounce an authoritative opinion on the question.

The scope of the paper has been restricted to the presentation of material which falls within the following six categories: (a) Entire stanzas; (b) Entire pādas of verses; (c) Longer prose passages; (d) Short passages; (e) Set phrases and rare words, and (f) Echoes of thought. Altogether these six categories cover 127 cases.

³⁷ For 31st Oct. 1923.

³⁸ For Jan. 1924.

³⁹ *Annals BORI* 4: 167-187.

accumulated studies which he had completed during the preceding period were still pending with several journals. Thus we find the second translation from German which SUKTHANKAR made for publication Zarathustra His Life and Doctrine, being the Akademische Rede delivered by Prof Chr BATHOLOMAE at Heidelberg on 22nd November 1918⁴²

A short note on the Satavāhanas appears simultaneously in the *JBBRAS*⁴³ and the *QJMS*,⁴⁴ replying to the criticism of Mr T N SUBRAMANIAN of Kumbakonam regarding SUKTHANKAR's paper on the Home of the so called Andhras. The following sentences mirror SUKTHANKAR's critical as well as introspective attitude quite well

I must frankly admit however that the wording of the last paragraph of my article in question is rather abstruse and apt to confuse and mislead a casual reader. I welcome therefore this opportunity to restate my old views more lucidly as follows. I hold (1) that no cogent reason having been shown for connecting the early Satavāhana kings with the Āndhradeśa their activity should be regarded as restricted to the western and south western portion of the Deccan plateau only later kings of this dynasty extended their sway eastwards so that subsequently even the Āndhradeśa was included in the Satavahana dominions the Satavahana migration was from the west to the east (2) that the Satavahanas are different from and should not be confused with the Āndhras mentioned in Greek and Chinese chronicles (3) that the home (or early habitat) of the Satavahanas is to be looked for on the western side of the peninsula and is perhaps to be located in the province then known as *Sātavahani kārā*—a province of which the situation is unknown or uncertain

The whole object of research is to arrive at the truth, so far as that is possible, and if one has committed an error of judgment or has not expressed oneself clearly, the confessing to that fact and the re attempt to correct oneself in that light is the true character of a great scholar. SUKTHANKAR comes out triumphant each time this test is applied to his writings, for to him, knowledge without character was a barren thing, incapable of touching the finest emotions of a cultured being

⁴² Reprinted from the *Sanyana Memorial Volume* pp 1-15

⁴³ New Series 1 160 6f

⁴⁴ July 1923 Vol XIII No 4 pp 776 7

to these previous studies. The conclusions arrived at may be given in the author's own words :

My view of this group of plays may then be briefly summarized as follows. Our *Svapnavāsavadattā* is a Malayalam recension of Bhāsa's drama of that name. the *Pratijñāyagandharāyana* may be by the same author, but the authorship of the rest of the dramas must be said to be still quite uncertain. It may be added that Bhāsa's authorship of some particular drama or dramas of this group is a question wholly independent of the homogeneity or heterogeneity of the group as a whole. Indeed the only factor which unites these plays into a group is that they form part of the repertoire of a class of hereditary actors. The *Cāradatta* is the original of the *Mṛcchakatika*. The five one-act Mahābhārata pieces form a closely related, homogeneous group, they appear in fact to be single acts detached from a lengthy dramatized version of the complete MBhāṣa, — a version which may yet come to light, if a search be made for it. The *Urubhanga* is no tragedy in one act, but a detached intermediate act of some drama. The present prologues and epilogues of our plays are all unauthentic and comparatively modern.

The year closes with reviews of the *Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society* for December 1923, vol. III, Part I, MACDONELL's *Practical Sanskrit Dictionary* (corrected reissue, 1924) and Sir FLINDER PETRIE's *Religious Life in Ancient India*⁴⁷. All these reviews attest to that independence of judgment and that sureness of approach which one learns to associate with SUKTHANKAR.

During 1926 SUKTHANKAR revised GHATE's *Lectures on the Rig Veda* and contributed a Preface. He also contributed an illuminating Foreword to the Marathi rendering of the *Svapnavāsavadattā* by Prof. URDHWARESHE.

Since 1925 SUKTHANKAR became the Chief Editor of the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (New Series) and gave a new impetus to the declining condition of the research work published by the Society. There is a reference to this in the *Bombay Chronicle* for May 10, 1925, which may be reproduced here :

The reproach that the local Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society has been the rose garden of senility seems to be in a fair way to be wiped out. The first number of the new series of its journal may now well stand in line with similar periodicals in other parts of the world and certainly in India. The Joint Editors are Dr V. S. SUKTHANKAR, M.A., Ph.D. (Berlin) and Professor SHAIKH Abdul Kadar, M.A., I.E.S. The former especially seems to have thrown himself with energy into his new task. Learned Bombay expects that he will sustain the ardour evinced in the first issue of the journal and fulfil the promise of his first performance.

for collation, but also to arrange for their proper collation and subsequent classification. It took four years to produce the tentative edition of the Virāṭaparvan based on 16 Mss. : 11 Devānagarī, 1 each of Bengali, Telugu and Grantha and two Malayālam Mss. The best commentary on this edition is to be found in the Introduction to the Critical Edition of the Virāṭaparvan :⁴⁹

Last of all, there is the Tentative Edition of the Virāṭaparvan prepared by the late Mr. N. B. UTGIKAR, M A., and published by this Institute in 1923. It was based on eleven Devanāgarī Mss. (our D₁₋₃, 7 & 10 Dn₁ n₂; the others having been rejected by me as of little critical value), one Bengali (our B₁), one Telugu, one Grantha and two Malayālam Mss (our M₁ 2). Out of these 16 Mss. Mr. UTGIKAR had chosen three (F A M = our D₁₋₃) as the basis of his text. The chief reason for his preference for these seems to have been their division of the Virāṭaparvan into 67 adhyayas, exactly the number given in the Parvasamgraha. Further by effecting certain omissions favoured by the Southern recension, Mr. UTGIKAR was able to arrive at a text of just 2050 stanzas, not a stanza less or more. 2050 is, again, the Parvasamgraha figure. Relying on the Kumbhakonam edition as the Southern recension, which is in reality a hopeless blend of the Northern and the Southern and which at this particular point (Parvasamgraha) has the Northern text, Mr. UTGIKAR came to believe that the Parvasamgraha data in both the recensions are the same, that the Parvasamgraha has not been tampered with, and that having been known to Kumārila in about the 7th century A.D. it must reflect the Mahābhārata of a still more ancient age, and hence his own text which tallies with this data so perfectly must be as old as 'fourth century A.D. at least'. Mr. UTGIKAR thought that he could go even further back, beyond the Parvasamgraha age, by purging the text of 34 lines which had already crept into the Mahābhārata when the Parvasamgraha was composed. Every one of these 34 lines is the third line of a six-pāda stanza, and as such could not have been original, for the norm of the stanza was four padas forming two lines. So though found in all Mss., Mr. UTGIKAR did not admit them into the text, which was thus curtailed by him to 2033 stanzas. Since the time of Mr. UTGIKAR more Ms. material has been discovered, notably Ś₁ K₁ 2 which represents a tradition superior to the three basic Mss. of Mr. UTGIKAR, and a prolonged and intensive study of the Mahābhārata Mss. has established definitely that too much reliance on any group of Mss. is unwarranted and misleading, and that the Parvasamgraha figures, even when uniform, can be no sure guide in our effort at going beyond the versions.

The last part of the above paragraph has been purposely italicised by us. It indicates briefly but with force the basic fault of earlier editors like

the Śāradā forms the *textus simplicior*. The Maithili version stands nearest to the Bengali version, as SUKTHANKAR found, and this latter itself is slightly superior to the Vulgate. Closely connected with the Bengali is the version of Arjunamīśra. Nilakanṭha presents a 'smooth' version generally accepted as the 'Vulgate', and next to this comes the mixed Devanāgarī group. In this manner SUKTHANKAR began to discover the genetic pattern existing between the different classes of Mss. irrespective of their individual idiosyncracies. This is a very important distinction when dealing with such texts of a complicated tradition as the Great Epic. For if we get enmeshed within the individual idiosyncracies first it is impossible to arrive at a fundamental principle in the reconstruction of the oldest text. For evaluating the particular codex it is essential for the editor to make an intensive study of it and note down its peculiarities; but when we have hundreds of Mss. to choose from, we have to give importance to types of Mss. rather than to number. SUKTHANKAR had therefore 50 Mss. of the Ādi for collation from out of approximately 235 known through catalogues, etc. and of which 107 were in Devanāgarī script, 32 in Bengali, 31 in Grantha, 28 in Telugu, 26 in Malayālam, 5 in Nepālī, 3 in Śāradā, 1 each in Maithili, Kannada and Nandināgarī. Of these about 70 were fully or partly examined and collated for this edition: of these again 60 were actually utilized in preparing the text, and the critical apparatus of the first two adhyāyas gives the collations of 50 Manuscripts.

The very classification of manuscripts which SUKTHANKAR gives on p. iii of his Foreword to the first fasciculus of the Ādiparvan, under the date January 1927, shows that the pedigree of Mss. had been fully worked out; the separation of the K version from the so-called D version establishes the archetype γ comprising Ś and K; similarly the archetype ε is presumed by the intimate relationship existing between Maithili and Bengali Mss. in opposition to the so-called D group of Mss. with which they form a minor group leading to the sub-recension γ which may be termed the Central Sub-Recension. In a similar manner the archetype σ comprising T and G Mss. is established. By what tedious process of classification and re-classification of the Mss. this pedigree of Ādiparvan versions was arrived at can only be imagined by those who have actually worked with such complex material or have gone through in detail the *apparatus criticus* given by SUKTHANKAR with his constituted text. We have some means of following the thought-process

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of SUKTHANKAR in the scribbled notes and jottings which he used to make at this time. We reproduce below the short text of some notes made on 14th October 1925, regarding the Principles of Mbh. Text Criticism and Text Reconstruction :

(1) The chief principle of text criticism is to take as a basis the old-st Mss of that family of Mss which is recognised as the best, and with all possible consistency to make this authoritative in the edition. But it should be clearly recognised that Mss of even the best family are not entirely free from errors, corruptions, emendations and innovations. Nevertheless before one rejects a reading of the basic Mss, it ought to be shown that the supposed superior reading must inevitably have stood in the Ur-Northern Recension.

(2) Give preference to a reading found in both the Grantha and Malayālam Mss when confirmed by the Bengali Mss even though they stand in conflict with the Basic Mss. In other words, a reading found in Grantha, Malayālam and Bengali is *prima facie* superior to a variant found only in the basic Mss.

(3) As a general rule, no complete verse should be adopted as genuine unless it is found in both the Northern and the Southern Recensions. Exceptions may be considered. When a one-recension verse, for cogent reasons, is adopted, it should be printed in small type.

(4) There being two distinct recensions, only one can be printed at a time. When the N and S readings are of equal value, choose, for the sake of consistency, uniformly the N, so as to avoid as far as possible a *schizara* of the recensions. (We give preference to the Northern as the more reliable recension, it being nearer the source of the original. But this is external criticism and *a priori* conclusion.)

(5) In the absence of other criteria, the consistency of any one class of Mss should be the guiding factor in the choice of a reading.

(6) Compare commentaries and note down their *pāṭhanāras* in the footnotes, in among the v. 1.

(7) When there is a change of speaker, the name of the interlocutor should be invariably and consistently printed in the text. When it is not found in the old Mss, or in any of the Mss at all then it should be enclosed in square brackets.

(8) No emendation should be made which is not self-evident or inevitable, and which is open to the slightest doubt.

The rough draft of a *Sternum Codicum* reproduced here, on the opposite page, is dated 24th September 1925. It shows the process by which SUKTHANKAR struggled through to that simple but great discovery of the genetic relationship between the recensions and versions and sub-versions.

of the Mahābhārata critical apparatus.⁵² The above principles may be compared with those devised by SUKTHANKAR in critically editing the first two adhyāyas of the Ādiparvan :⁵³

The Southern recension agrees with the archetype K more closely than with any other Northern version .. Since I have not been able to discover traces of 'secondary inter-relationship' between archetypes K and S, I consider the agreement between these two archetypes as 'primitive'. *This concord is a factor of supreme importance for the reconstruction of the text* . In preparing the constituted text of the first two adhyāyas I have endeavoured to balance the eclecticism advocated in certain matters with rigid conservatism insisted on in others. I have been most averse to reject or correct the readings of good manuscripts. Interpretation has throughout been given precedence over emendation ; As a general rule, preference is given to a reading which best suggests how other readings might have arisen. When such a reading was not available the choice fell upon one which is common to (what *prima facie* appeared to be) more or less independent versions and which is supported by intrinsic probability . if we leave out of account documentary evidence, no convincing proof can in general be brought forward to establish either the originality or the spuriousness of the lines

It will be clear from the above that a great deal of advance had been made over the early scribbled notes. In the first place the principles of textual criticism to be applied to the peculiar conditions of manuscripts connected with the Great Epic had been definitely worked out by the time the constitution of these first two adhyāyas became possible ; in the second place we observe that even in this Foreword the same cautious use of language is made as in the Prolegomena published seven years later ; the confidence, the meticulous accuracy, the mastery of the whole epic material, is evidenced by the very ring of the sentences which SUKTHANKAR composes in expressing his views. Although the material included in the first fascicule is small compared to the extent of the whole of the Ādiparvan, the amount of work needed to elucidate the principles, to select the Mss. for the critical apparatus, and to constitute the text after classifying them, is something of which India can be reasonably proud. For in the annals of critical editing in the Oriental world nothing similar had been done before ; no text-critic in Europe had experience enough to deal with the problems which the wilderness of text-tradition witnessed

⁵² An intermediate stage is seen in Epic Studies III, *Annals BARI* II

⁵³ Foreword.

in the Great Epic presented, only a prolonged and patient study by a master-mind could penetrate into this wilderness and clear the paths of textual reconstruction. That SUKTHANKAR, standing as he did at the apex of previous attempts, could achieve this distinction within such a short time as less than two years, is a factor which many have not thought about. Only those like WINTERVITZ and LUDERS who could measure a genius of this type, because they themselves possessed the gift for this work in a similar degree, realized the greatness of the achievement.⁵⁴

It is interesting to note from the Postscript to this Foreword that after the manuscript of the first fascicule had been sent to the press, the Editor was able to secure collations of Śāradā and Nepālī manuscripts, and the collations received by him wholly supported the constituted text, especially regarding the interpolated stanzas, thereby proving the correctness of the method adopted in settling the text.

The first fascicule ends with 1 2 233. During 1928 the second fascicule bringing the constituted text up to 1 21 17 *ab* was published. In this fascicule five additional Mss. have been used, and particularly the Newārī Mss. \tilde{N}_1 ; A perusal of the editorial note shows that SUKTHANKAR had finally decided about the position of this \tilde{N} version, for while \tilde{N}_2 agrees, as a rule with V_1 B group, \tilde{N}_1 ; strangely enough show frequently features which they share with Kand S, throwing doubts about the true Newārī characteristics of these two.

The third fascicule containing the constituted text up to 1 53 36 was published in 1929. In the history of Mahābhārata studies, for the first time, this fascicule presents the collations of a Śāradā Ms. of the Great Epic. Similarly the new Ms. K_1 added to the apparatus is another unique manuscript, being a Devanāgarī transcript of a Śāradā original very closely allied to \tilde{S}_1 . A very important result of the collation and utilization of these two codices belonging to the Kasmirī version of the Mahābhārata is to show independently the correctness of the constituted text of the Parvasamgraha (missing in \tilde{S}_1) figure for the extent of the Ādi as constituted by SUKTHANKAR on the basis of the other Mss. The truth of this constituted text is unexpectedly proved by the stanza repeated at the end of the Ādiparvan in \tilde{S}_1 , though this codex has a lacuna for the first 25 adhyāyas, and its collation begins only with 26 10. This

⁵⁴ This appreciation will be clear from their reviews and letters which are still on the Institute's files.

corresponds almost *verbatim* with the constituted text of 1.2.96. The death-knell of the Parvasamgraha argument is tolled when SUKTHANKAR remarks.⁵⁵

In passing I may point out that even the variations mentioned above show, if indeed the critical apparatus has not done so in sufficiency, that it would be a grave mistake to regard the Parvasamgraha as the one immutable factor in the chequered history of the Mahābhārata text. There can, I think, be no doubt that the text of this adhyāya also has been tampered with and designedly altered, from time to time, in various ways, in order to make it harmonize with the inflated versions of a later epoch.

A passing reference should be made here to a *Descriptive Catalogue of the Bijapur Museum of Archaeology*, published by the Government Central Press, Bombay in 1928. Evidently the text of this must have been prepared by SUKTHANKAR during his short connection with the Archaeological Department between 1916 and 1920.

But far more important than this, and almost as important as fascicule 2 of the *Ādi* published during the same year, is the first of the rightly-famous series EPIC STUDIES. It is published under the title 'Some Aspects of the Mahābhārata Canon',⁵⁶ and is the result of two reviews of the first fascicule published respectively by Hermann WELLER and Franklin EDGERTON. As SUKTHANKAR remarks at the very outset, both reviews are evidently products of a very close study of the text and the critical apparatus. Moreover the problem of the Mbh. textual criticism is a problem *sui generis*, and the principles are to be evolved from an intensive study of the Mss. material and the Mss. tradition. Both reviewers had considerable experience with allied problems, and if they disagree among themselves as to the choice of the reading for the constituted text, then (a) either the principles evolved for textual reconstruction are not quite sound, or (b) there are significant variants which have equal probability (documental or intrinsic) in favour of being accepted for the constituted text. The readings on which these differences of opinion are based are 1.1.19, 42, 49, 62 and 201 and the identification of the hundred sub-parvas of the Mbh. enumerated in the second adhyāya of the *Ādiparvan*. The very first case of disagreement is the famous

⁵⁵ Editorial Note

⁵⁶ JBBRAS (NS) 4 t57-78

verse-foot *vedoiś coturbhīh samitām* at 1119 (with v I *sammitām*) which WELLER proposes to read as *coturbhīh sammitām vedoih*. After a brilliant argument SUKTHANKAR points out the reading accepted as a *lectio difficilior* giving rise to all the other variants noticed in the *opparotus criticus*. In passing he remarks 'It is methodologically wrong to expect to find the original reading by picking out a stray variant which appears to give a better meaning, and shuffling the words of the pada until the pathyā form turns up' (as WELLER seems to have done). In the second case discussed SUKTHANKAR has marshalled the argument of documental probability to a nicety, showing that the reading *ōtmaān* documented, among others, by the whole of B and the whole of S, there being no possibility of a secondary relationship existing between these two versions as a whole. In the third case the rejected reading *samkṛīpya cābravīt*, though documented by B and S (except G₁, M₃) and far superior to WELLER's *samkṛēpato* (which is weakly documented), is still not documentally strong enough, it is not supported by the whole of S, moreover, the weak point of the variant is that it does not explain how the other readings may have arisen. All these arguments which must have been utilized by SUKTHANKAR in constituting his critical text exhibit his complete mastery of the methods and principles which had to be evolved by himself by patient study in less than two years. And he is not afraid to face the truth: he clearly indicates in this last argument that his own choice of *samkṛēpom* may be purely a subjective one, but it is clear that the other two readings are not compellingly superior to replace it, even if the critical text were to be revised.

The fourth fascicule of the *Ādiparvan*, bringing the constituted text up to 19024 was published in 1930 and it is interesting from the viewpoint of a textual critic, firstly because of the far-reaching divergence met with for the first time, between N and S as regards the sequence of adhyāyas or adhyāya groups and secondly because of the stupendous addition found in S in the well-known Sakuntala episode. Now when there is discrepancy between N and S, it is difficult, as a rule, to give strict proof of the originality of either recension. In such cases the more generally reliable recension must be considered as the original on the basis of general trustworthiness. This is precisely what SUKTHANKAR does in accepting the credence of the ŚK group as a stop-gap arrangement. Although N is relatively speaking less liable to interpolations than S, it likewise contains some flagrant additions and alterations. It thus follows

that only that portion of the text which is documented by both recensions may be considered as wholly certain and authentic, the rest is doubtful in varying degrees⁵⁷

Epic Studies III is one of the most virile papers from the pen of SUKTHANKAR,⁵⁸ for it is a slashing answer to the criticism levelled against the first three fascicules and to the problems raised by Dr RUBEN on the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata itself. It is a challenge to the methods which he had developed and his deep feeling is expressed in the very opening sentence 'I am bound to form and express an opinion on the issues raised in the article Schwierigkeiten der Textkritik des Mahābhārata published in the current issue of the *Acta Orientalia* (vo 8 pp 240-256), in which the author, Dr Walter RUBEN has reviewed Fascicules 1-3 of my edition of the Ādiparvan criticizing at considerable length and in great detail the principles underlying the preparation of the edition and the constitution of the text' This paper is interesting because it gives him the opportunity of re-examining searchingly these principles and coming out triumphant, and once for all establishing the unquestionable soundness of his methods of reconstruction and classification. A few selected sentences from this vigorous defence of his method will make the subject very clear.⁵⁹

Tested on the touchstone (of the canon of the *catuṣṭaya* of the classical philologist) the critical edition of the Mbh. is found wanting in no less than three items namely Heuristics, Emendatio and Higher Textual Criticism the last two of which have been wholly left untouched according to RUBEN. Even the first has by a long way not been done justice to by the hapless editor. As for Emendatio I must plead guilty to having perpetrated so far perhaps somewhat unnecessarily minor emendations in 13 instances in about 3800 stanzas. Most scholars will I fancy sincerely be grateful that I have been so moderate and that I have declared it as my policy to give preference to interpretation over emendation. In speaking at all of Higher Criticism in this connection RUBEN seems to show a lamentable lack of understanding of this objective edition having mistaken entirely the beginning for the end of the critical work on the Mahabharata. Higher criticism can begin only after Lower Criticism has done its work not till then. But I imagine RUBEN does not want to say anything special at all when he mentions his Höhere Kritik. The item is probably introduced here merely *pro forma* as the fourth and last stage of the *ariya magga*.

⁵⁷ See Editorial Note to this fascicule.

⁵⁸ Dr RUBEN and the critical Edition of the Mahabharata, *Annals BORI* 11259-83.

⁵⁹ *Ibid* pp 259-66.

And how would it be possible to apply to the *Mahābhārata* the canons of the Classical Philology *in toto*? Where has the Classical Philology, I should like to know, the necessary experience in dealing with a text with about a dozen versions whose extreme types differ in extent by something like 13,000 stanzas (or 26 000 lines), a work which for centuries has been growing not only upwards and downwards but also laterally, like the Nyagrodha tree, growing on all sides, a codex which has been written in seven or eight different scripts, assiduously and lovingly copied through a long vista of centuries by a legion of devout — and perhaps mostly ignorant and indifferent — copyists speaking different tongues, a traditional book of inspiration which in various shapes and sizes, has been the cherished heritage of one people continuously for several millennia and which to the present day is interwoven with the thoughts and beliefs and moral ideas of a nation numbering over two hundred million? No, the Classical Philology has no experience in dealing with a text of this description, a work of such colossal dimensions and complex character, with such a long and intricate history behind. That is why I have said that the problem of the *Mahābhārata* textual criticism is a problem *sui generis*.

If this were all that SUKTHANKAR had said it would have made him only an impassioned defence counsel with reference to the charges brought against the first three fascicules of the *Ādiparvan* and the methods of textual criticism advocated therein; but like a true scholar whose main strength lies both in his character and his complete mastery of details, he pursues the arguments by a fundamental grasp of the essentials which are necessary for a firm hold on the recalcitrant material to bring them into shape. In the second section of the paper he lays bare RUBEN's exaggerations and generalisations, unwarranted by the facts which he uses as his basis for them. The next major item of discussion, the four types of constellations (complete agreement between N and S, non-agreement, cross agreement and partial agreement) are discussed with great force and brilliance. This is followed by a provisional *stemma codicum* representing the types of versions utilized for the critical edition. The concluding part is as interesting as the beginning, and one sees SUKTHANKAR at his best as a warrior, unapproachable but withal not destroying, only showing up the weaknesses of the opponent's best moves by a thrust here or a thrust there, or at times parrying. His is not a capricious nature which hides behind heavy-weight authority when such criticism is levelled against him, and finds shelter in saying that the arguments of the opponent are not significant or are totally inadequate; his true character comes out in every statement he makes; it is a desire to be understood properly and he does not brook incompetence or

ignorance, wherever he meets with them it is his duty to dispel them, and he does so without hurting, but with such a complete control and mastery that all opposition must either give way or look utterly foolish.

The small paper on Arjunamīśra⁶⁰ however, does not require a detailed notice as most of the facts here gathered are utilized later in his Notes on the Mahabharata Commentators.

In 1931 appeared the fifth fascicle of the *Ādiparvan* bringing down the constituted text to 114920. The notable omissions from the critical text are the story of the birth of Duhsala, the unsuccessful attempts made by Duryodhana to kill Bhīma, an inflated account of the defeat and capture of Drupada and the notorious Kanikaniti etc. These omissions give rise to a difficult text critical problem since they have been rejected mainly on the evidence of the Kāśmīrī version: are they to be considered to be omissions in the lacking versions or additions in the others which contain them? The intrinsic evidence is in SUKTHANKAR's opinion strongly against their originality. He says⁶¹

"Here therefore we are confronted by a very difficult case where the evidence *pro et contra* of documentary and intrinsic probability is equally or almost equally balanced. Now it would not do to form some *a priori* hypothesis as to the interrelationship of the versions and fix the text in terms of some preconceived notion about it. The study of the documents themselves must teach us what their interrelationship is. And they unmistakably indicate that this interrelationship is of a very complex character. In fact I am now fully persuaded that with the epic text as preserved in the extant Mahabharata Mss. we stand at the wrong end of a long chain of successive synthesis of divergent texts carried out in a haphazard fashion through centuries of diachronic activities and that with the possible exception of the Kāśmīrī version all other versions are indiscriminately conflated."

The present statement sums up the importance of SUKTHANKAR's approach to Mbh textual criticism. In the face of these conflated Mss. the genetic method cannot be applied strictly and it is extremely difficult to disentangle completely by means of purely objective criteria their intricate mutual interrelationships. The results arrived at from a consideration of documentary probability must be further tested in the light of intrinsic probability. No part of the text can be considered really exempt from intrinsic probability when we are dealing with a carelessly guarded fluid text like the one presented by the Mbh. These are some of the findings which emerge from this fascicle.

⁶⁰ Sir J. J. Modi Commemoration Volume 565-8.

⁶¹ See Editorial Note p. 111.

In the following year the sixth fascicule appeared covering the constituted text to the end (1.225 19). There is no preface or editorial note with this issue but SUKTHANKAR must have breathed a sigh of relief in releasing it to the public. For it was now seven years since his assuming the charge of its editorship and in his own opinion he was behind his time table. But those who knew the pioneer work he was doing in the Mbh wilderness realized with amazement the rapid progress he was making and the new history in Indian scholarly achievement that he was building up. Notwithstanding the principles that he established for the first time for critically editing the Mbh, it took other Parvan Editors even more time to complete their own assignments. Even taking advantage of his ripe experience the Parvan Editors could scarcely make the progress that SUKTHANKAR achieved single handed and with all the pioneer's new ground to break.

objective scientific approach. All criticisms which had appeared in the various reviews were answered with an unswerving logic which has silenced the criticism once for all. However great the critic, he could not be the equal of SUKTHANKAR in the critical handling of the Epic material. The suggestions which some of the continental scholars of eminence had thrown out with regard to the presentation of the text perhaps not from a sense of authority, but certainly through lack of experience in editing such texts—were squarely faced and exposed with a master's touch.

What is it that the Prolegomena does for the Mbh? In the first place it explains in great detail the fundamental principles of textual criticism which should be applied to texts in India for the textual tradition in India is vastly different from that of Europe as SUKTHANKAR has so convincingly shown in *Epic Studies III*. In the second place he has shown despite the continuous syntheses, interpolations and conflation the mutual relationship existing between the different versions of the Mbh as versions. In the third place he has shown the ideal method for critically editing Indian texts, and the Prolegomena is nothing if it does not teach a scholar how to edit texts scientifically.

In this work lasting for seven to eight years (the Prolegomena dated August 1933) SUKTHANKAR's scientific achievement reached the height of its glory. Witness, for example, the scientific use of the *sigla* attached to the critical apparatus of Mss. used to the writer's knowledge this is the only instance when the *sigla* were really made significant, representing in this case the script characterising the Mss. and the subscript numbers showing the order of their importance in that particular series. Similarly while presenting the variant readings in the *apparatus criticus* it will be noticed by observant scholars that an invariable rule was followed, and this rule or rather set of rules has a direct bearing on the pedigree of Mss. utilized for the apparatus. Everything SUKTHANKAR did had a method and an object, and even those who do not know anything of his earlier mathematical training can discover in such matters of small detail his fundamental training as a scientist. He is a scientist first and last and secondarily only an Orientalist or Indologist.

One of the earliest opinions expressed by Prof. LUDERS on SUKTHANKAR's work has been printed on the cover pages of several fascicules of the *Ādiparvan* and is worth quoting, for LUDERS, like SUKTHANKAR, was sparing of words, and any praise that he would bestow on a particular

work was not a formal affair, but something absolutely personal and deserving 'I have been greatly impressed by the arrangements that have been made at the Institute for the collation of the Mahābhārata Mss. The arrangements are such as will ensure great accuracy and perfect clearness in the registration of various readings. Your work seems to me to merit the highest possible praise both as regards the constituting of the text, and the clarity and succinctness with which the Mss. evidence has been recorded. *In my reading of the text I came across no passage of any importance where I had occasion to differ from you as to the choice of the right reading.*' This is the highest praise that can possibly be bestowed on the work of SUKTHANKAR for there was no scholar in Europe or America better fitted than LUDERS to edit the Great Epic on the lines on which SUKTHANKAR worked, his training, keen critical acumen, his wonderful all round acquaintance with almost every branch of Indic philology, and his own contributions which have been considered on all hands as the last word on the particular subjects, give that authority to his words.

There is now a gap of two years before SUKTHANKAR publishes any paper. But it does not signify that he has been resting. The work of the critical edition was progressing on the Virata by RAGHU VIRA and on the Udyoga by Sushil Kumar DE, under the personal supervision of the General Editor who had probably to work as much as the individual Parvan Editors on those sections assigned to them. Moreover he was also preparing for his editorial work of the *Āraṇyaka-parvan*. In 1934 WINTERNITZ published a very detailed review of the *Ādiparvan*, and in the opening paragraph remarked ⁶

I have no hesitation in saying that this is the most important event in the history of Sanskrit philology since the publication of Max MÜLLER's edition of the R̥gveda with Sayana's commentary.

This review gives in brief the main principles which SUKTHANKAR established with great detail in the Prolegomena. WINTERNITZ further remarks that 'our full approval of the general principles followed by the Editor, does not imply that we agree with him in every detail of the constituted text. Both I myself and other critics have already referred to passages where we should prefer other readings.' Accordingly he cites 24 instances which he came across in reading parts of the critical edition.

⁶ *Annals BORI* 1934

with his pupils in his Indological Seminar from time to time, where he differs from SUKTHANKAR. These do not touch the general principles adopted by the Editor, but WINTERNITZ takes exception to carrying too far the principle of choosing a reading 'which best explains how the other readings may have arisen.' In his *Epic Studies IV: 'More Text-Critical Notes'*⁶³ SUKTHANKAR attempts to meet the main objections raised by WINTERNITZ in the above review. Altogether nineteen out of the above 24 instances are taken up for discussion. SUKTHANKAR's absence of conceit and readiness to understand the other man's point of view are exemplified in this paper. Before actually presenting to us his view of these cases, setting forth the reasons which have guided him in the choice of the readings adopted by him in the critical text, he makes the following generous statement: 'When there are hundreds or thousands of readings to be considered and weighed it is natural that all the selections would not satisfy all readers; and there are bound to be small slips in so enormous and difficult a work as this. But the reader has the advantage of having the full critical apparatus before him, prepared with all possible care and presented in a convenient manner. The reader may easily substitute in the text any reading that appeals to him better.' This is just what WINTERNITZ has done and as it is incumbent upon himself to explain his reasons for the choice of the particular readings objected to, SUKTHANKAR has once again shown that mastery of detail as well as of principles which we expect from him, as a result of his previous studies and publications.

As in Mathematics, here too SUKTHANKAR recognizes two types of conditions: the necessary condition and the sufficient condition. He has assumed that the agreement between K and S is a sufficient condition though not a necessary condition for the originality of the concordant reading. In the reading adopted by him at 1.3.60: *gīrā vā śamsāmi*, WINTERNITZ prefers the omission of *vā*, according to the principle that agreement between K and S warrants the better text, for $K_0 \bar{N}_1$ S omit it, and besides, it disturbs the metre and the sense. To this SUKTHANKAR replies: there is no agreement here between K and S; K_0 , it is true, represents the version K in a comparatively pure form but K_0 is not K. K_1 is, on the whole, a decidedly better representative of the Kāśmīrī version than K_0 . In the case under discussion we have K_0

⁶³ *Ibid.* 16, 90-133.

agreeing with S and K₁ with N, a case of cross-agreement, which has been overlooked by WINTERNITZ. As for the agreement of N, with S, it had already been pointed out by SUKTHANKAR that even the Mss. of distant Nepal are not wholly free from contamination from some Southern source or sources. It is thus proved that the documental probability in favour of the reading preferred by WINTERNITZ is not at all strong, and it is then proved to be further weakened by intrinsic probability. To the criticism of WINTERNITZ that too much reliance on the principle : adopt the reading which best explains how the other readings have or may have arisen, SUKTHANKAR replies by showing documentally how the reading *nivasatām* adopted by him at 1.3.145 could never be proved to have arisen from an original *nyavasatām* preferred by WINTERNITZ. There are many priceless teachings in this paper ; one of the classical instances is in connection with 1.92.2 : *Gaṅgā Śrī iva rūpiṇī*. WINTERNITZ had remarked : " Here SUKTHANKAR adopts the reading of Ś₁K₁, against the reading of all other N Mss. The same Mss. Ś₁K₁ have in c *Śayanāt* for *salilāt* of all other Mss. which is rejected. Why should Ś₁K₁ in the first line be of greater authority than in the second line ? " This is a very pertinent question for a novice in textual criticism, but it is surprising that so acknowledged an authority on the subject like WINTERNITZ should have raised it. Nevertheless SUKTHANKAR considered it his duty to reply to this question, and he remarks : ' The configuration of the Mss. as well as the intrinsic merit of the readings are different in the two lines. That is how Ś₁K₁ appear to be of greater authority in the first line than in the second. The *salilāt* of the text is found in all Mss. except Ś₁K₁ (S only transposing the word), and is, therefore, for one thing, obviously far better documented than *Śayanāt* of Ś₁K₁ only. In the second line, therefore, we have practically, only two readings : *Śayanāt* of Ś₁K₁, against *salilāt* of the rest ; therefore the reading of Ś₁K₁ has been rightly rejected. Such is not the case in, the first line Here we have three nearly independent readings (Ś₁ K₁ *Gaṅgā Śrī iva rūpiṇī* : Vulgate G. *strīrūpadhārini* : S *lobhanīyatamākṛtiḥ* which latter is our fourth pāda). Here, while the two Northern readings are somewhat allied to each other, the Southern reading is entirely different, having very little connection with the Northern. None of the readings can be mechanically derived from the other, and intrinsically they are all more or less of the same value. Such being the case, the Northern tradition was, as usual, followed.' Leaving aside other issues, this reply and the query raised by WINTERNITZ show the difference of

approach between the two. While SUKTHANKAR considers each case from fundamental principles, independently of other considerations such as a general theory of genetic relationship, etc., WINTERNITZ and other critics, in spite of their deep study of the Epic material are misled by general principles. If the Mbh. textual criticism is a problem *sui generis*, then the general principles are only guiding steps or corner stones; each case has to be seen from the configuration of Mss. used as evidence, and the general reliability of any set of Mss. is no guarantee that it contains the original or the more ancient reading. The above arguments have been reproduced here only to illustrate the mastery with which SUKTHANKAR worked with his material and his superiority in this line to every other scholar, which WINTERNITZ himself conceded to him.

While he was firm on matters the truth of which he had demonstrated himself entirely to his own satisfaction, SUKTHANKAR was always the first to admit any slip in his work. Thus at 1 218.27 the reading *vyātusthāna* though supported by S, K₁, was not admitted into the text for that reason, it is a misprint, and SUKTHANKAR thanks WINTERNITZ for pointing it out.

During the following eight years SUKTHANKAR's whole life was practically devoted to contributions concerning the Epic. So far as the critical edition is concerned, the Virātaparvan by RAGHU VIRA was published in 1936, the Udyoga by S. K. DE in 1940 and the Vana— or the Āranyakaparvan in 1942. SUKTHANKAR's contribution to the first two as the General Editor is gratefully acknowledged by the Parvan Editors in their Introductions.⁶⁴ Every line of the text and the critical apparatus must have been passed by him, both in the press-copy and the printing stage.

Epic Studies V deals with the Mahābhārata Commentators.⁶⁵ It is divided into two sections. The first deals with chronological notes on the Mahābhārata scholiasts of whom nearly 22 are known by name. Very little is, however, known of all these commentators, and only a few of these *scholia* are available in print. By a gradual progression from the known to the unknown, SUKTHANKAR establishes the relative chronology of some of these commentators, and the final order as given by him is as follows: Devabodha-Vimalabodha-Sarvajña-Arjuna-Nilakantha, with Sarvajña's date limited to not later than 1300 A.D. whence it follows that Devabodha and Vimalabodha must have lived long prior to this date.

⁶⁴ Virāja Introd. and Udyoga Introd.

⁶⁵ *Annals BORI* 17, 185-202

in the Mbh. and there is no basis for this eminence in the earlier literature. Taking a collective view of all these legends and references, we cannot avoid the conclusion that the Bhārgava heroes occupy a surprisingly large portion of the canvass, filling up much of the available space in the background. Their figures are painted with a thick brush and in vivid colours. Their myths are uniformly distributed over the entire extent of the Great Epic and throughout represented as *the* people.

The place occupied by these Bhārgava legends unmistakably shows the gradual 'bhārguisation' of older legends, which occur in the epic itself in two forms, one with and the other without some important Bhargava element. In the process of converting the popular epic of the Bhāratas into the *Encyclopædia Brahmanica* the special predilection to the Bhargava element is highly significant. Intrinsically there can be no question that this element is entirely foreign to the plan of the original saga or the Bhāratas, as it occurs entirely in the episodic material. According to tradition contained within the epic itself Vyāsa could not have been the author of these surreptitious additions and embellishments, nor could his disciple Vaisampāyana be credited with this particular work. But the next recorded recitation of the Mbh. is by Ugrasravas in the presence of Bhārgava Śaunaka during the latter's twelve year sacrifice. This lends colour to the hypothesis that the momentous alterations which have occurred in the Great Epic from Vyāsa's 24 000 to the later *śatasāhasī saṃhitā* is due to the gradual 'bhārguising' of the epic material. The influence of the Bhārgavas in the narrative portion of Mbh. is very evident and can hardly be disputed. Their special connection with Dharma and Niti is also established by Śukra and Bhṛgu.

The infiltration of masses of Bhārgava material in the shape of Bhārgava myths and legends, the manner of its treatment, and even that strange admixture of the Epic with the Dharma and Niti elements which latter especially has so long puzzled many inquirers into the genesis of the Mbh. thus appear to find a simple and straightforward explanation of an important unitary diastrophism of the epic under very strong and direct Bhārgava influence. The process of expansion thus begun must have continued subsequently, first by the Bhārgavas themselves and later under their supervision, and it is likely that the remodelled Bharata, like the Vedas, now elevated to the rank of the Fifth Veda, must have remained for some time in the exclusive possession of the Bhārgavas as their close literary preserve. This fact would explain the apparent homogeneous character of this heterogeneous mass. It all came from different hands, from out of the same mould. The colossal success of this Bhārgava recension of the ancient Epic of the Bhārata—a success which in one sense was richly deserved—was the cause of the neglect and subsequent disappearance of the original heroic poem, which must have still existed at the time of composition of the Āśvalayana Grhya Sūtra.

It will thus be noticed that this text-critical study has lifted a corner of the veil which covers the hoary history of the text of the Great Epic. SUKTHANKAR thereby established a possible ground for explaining all the contradictory facts connected with the growth and development of the Mbh. The response to this theory was immediate and has led to further investigations which have added to the expectations raised by SUKTHANKAR when he closed this paper with the words 'The further we pursue the study of the traces of Bhārgava influence the clearer, it seems to me, will become the history of our Mahābhārata the Great Epic of Bhāratavarṣa.'

The only recorded paper by SUKTHANKAR for 1937 is the In Memoriam Professor Moritz Winternitz (1863-1937)⁶⁷ It is really a brief *résumé* of the Mahābhārata work that WINTERNITZ did for nearly half a century, and is altogether one of the best obituary notices on the lamented Professor.

It is therefore, a matter of great regret that WINTERNITZ passed away before a discovery of capital importance for Mahābhārata studies was accidentally made by Manyasara Gururū HEMARAJ Panditju the distinguished Director of Public Instruction of Nepal of a new Nepali Ms of the Ādiparvan. The manner of its discovery and its importance is described in *Epic Studies VII*. The Oldest Extant Ms of the Ādiparvan⁶⁸ The Rajaguru sent complete collations and specimen photos for the use of the Institute. The Ms is on palm leaf, written in a uniform hand in old faded ink and contains only the first parvan of the Mbh. The average length of the folio is 21" x 2½" and each folio contains uniformly 7 lines of writing. Although the Ms is not dated, its old appearance and the script which comes closest to the script of *Tafel VI, No. XI* (Cambridge Ms No. 1891, 2 of A.D. 1179) authenticate the high antiquity claimed for it. This is also supported by internal evidence: the best proof is that it is almost entirely free from those modern accretions which are given in Appendix I of the Ādiparvan Volume as also in great part from those other smaller insertions which are listed in the foot-notes. More astonishing still is the fact that out of the textual emendations hazarded by SUKTHANKAR fifty per cent are

⁶⁷ *Ibid*

⁶⁸ *Ibid* 19 201-62

actually documented by this Ms As SUKTHANKAR remarks.⁶⁹

It is therefore no exaggeration to say that this remarkable Ms opportunely affords welcome support to the Critical Edition in most crucial matters. Moreover many of the variant readings of the new Ms are difficult and obscure marking out its text as distinctly archaic. Finally in many of its readings it agrees fairly closely with a certain other Ms from Nepal which is symbolized as N₃ in the critical apparatus of the *Ādi* and which is again the oldest dated Ms of the *Ādiparvan*. The tradition is therefore fairly complete and well attested.

The greatest value of this Ms lies in its corroboration of the constituted text of the Critical Edition. Indirectly it attests and justifies as an independent witness the principles according to which the reconstruction of the epic text is achieved thus placing the constituted text on still surer foundations.

One phase of SUKTHANKAR's triumph consisted in converting his erstwhile critics into staunch supporters and followers of the methods and principles evolved by him. The discovery of this important Ms is the second phase and the culminating point for the full vindication of the Critical Edition of SUKTHANKAR. This fortunate discovery has set the final seal of approval on his editorial work.

Although this Ms is practically free from the long and short insertions of the Vulgate, it is not entirely devoid of small infiltrations as SUKTHANKAR demonstrates, such as App. I, Nos. 12, 33 and 58 and over 87 single line insertions. All these are uniformly found in the majority of N Ms. It also throws an interesting side light on the indirect way in which the text gets gradually inflated. Its superiority over N₃ is proved by its lacking about ninety per cent of the insertions of N₃. The unique readings of this Ms bear out nearly half the emendations made by SUKTHANKAR in his constituted text. Out of the total 36 emendations made 18 are corroborated by this Ms. Of these 13 are cases of hiatus. It was precisely on this point that A. B. KEITH differed from SUKTHANKAR when he said 'We need not therefore, accept as a necessarily correct theory the view that we are to restore hiatuses, whenever we find variants in the Mss., which might be explained by assuming that they are the efforts made by scribes who were not accustomed to hiatus to remedy the irregularity. SUKTHANKAR's reply is characteristic 'Whether the said view represents a correct theory of Mbh. text-reconstruction or not may be best judged from the circumstance that out of eighteen emendations which are actually documented and attested by this new Ms, not less than thirteen were made just on the ground of hiatus.'

The whole of the subsequent discussion is taken up with replying to KEITH's criticism. This paper marks the close of a period and shows the vast difference that exists between the mastery of SUKTHANNAKAR and the general acquaintance of others with epic material. One need only remember the force of the following words recorded in the *Prolegomena* to understand the gulf that existed between the attainment of the General Editor and the critical reader including the learned reviewers.²

Another high authority while full of apparent admiration for the way in which the work is being done at present at the Institute has with much pathos and eloquence deprecated this hastily prepared eclectic text. All that we need do at present according to this scholar is to reprint the Vulgate giving merely the *variae lectio*nes of the manuscript collated and leaving each individual reader to constitute his own text unhampered and uninfluenced by the otiose yet personalty of some editor who stands like a monitor between the reader and his author. The learned critic is evidently of opinion that any average reader who picks up an edition of the Great Epic for casual study is better qualified to reconstruct the text than the editor who has made a special study of the problem. But we need not take it too seriously.

The rest of this passage is unapproachable for the dignified manner in which this learned authority and others like him are admonished and is worth reading by all those who have any doubts about the scientific background of the critical edition. For even the best of critics like WINTERSITZ who had devoted almost 50 years of his life to the problems connected with the Great Epic has been proved by the evidence of this unique Nepali Ms. to have been wrong in his differences with SUKTHANNAKAR. In 12 places where he objected to the text of the critical edition, the text is supported by the documentary evidence of this Ms.³ No one doubts now that the discovery of this valuable Ms., so consequential for the text-criticism of the *Ādiparvan* would certainly have delighted the heart of this veteran scholar, who took a passionate and life-long interest in epic studies. All the criticism of so accurate a scholar as KEITH is slashingly but with scholarly dignity answered point by point, with the incontrovertible evidence of this unique Ms.

It is no wonder, therefore, when recently Franklin EDGERTON wrote

May 11 1943

I have just received the news of the death of DR. V. S. SATHANAKAR. It is painful by a very grave personal loss to me. I knew all his work very best from within and had come to feel a very deep respect and affection for him as a person.

² *Prolegomena*, p. LXXXIII.

³ *Ashe's BORI*, 19.

⁴ *IBI*, 24, 134.

But the loss to scholarship is immeasurable, and, naturally, far more important. I am appalled at the thought that it will now be necessary to entrust the *Mahābhārata* edition to others. Few persons now living are as well gifted by nature as he was with the peculiar combination of intellectual qualities needed for this work. And literally not one has had the experience which he had, and which is second in importance only to that native ability. He had arrived at a point where so many things had become almost automatic to him, like second nature, things which even those of us who have helped in the edition cannot control as he did, though we may have painfully struggled towards an approximation of a few of them. Now, just when he could have exploited to the full his unique combination of knowledge and experience—*jñānam sauyjñānam*—he is cut off in the midst of it.

No higher tribute can be paid to a genius who was unique in his field and unrivalled for his courtesy to those who differed from him.

The paper referred to above was published during 1938. In 1939 he contributed a paper on the Nala episode and the *Rāmāyana*⁷³ in which he conclusively shows that the Sudeva soliloquy in the *Nalopākhyāna* of the *Mbh.* must necessarily have been borrowed by one of the redactors of the Great Epic from the *Rāmāyana*, since the passage in question is a misfit in the *Mbh.* context. It is shown that this Nala passage is not the only passage for which a parallel exists in the *Rāmāyana* and in the *parvan-survey* SUKTHANKAR refers to the *Rāmopākhyāna* occurring in the *Vana*— or *Āraṇyakaparvan*. This topic is, however, taken up for a separate study as the last of the Epic studies, published during 1940.⁷⁴ Here SUKTHANKAR's researches confirm JACOBI's assumption that the *Rāmopākhyāna* is indeed an epitome of the work commonly known as *Vālmiki's Rāmāyana*.

Just as SUKTHANKAR's studies in *Bhāsa* were based both on first-hand acquaintance with original as well as critical material, the latter of which he included in a special bibliography, so also in the case of his epic studies, he had started compiling a card index of all articles, notes, pamphlets, monographs and books dealing critically with epic questions. The index so prepared by SUKTHANKAR is still lying at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, and has incidentally paved the way for PUSALKER's survey of Epic and Puranic Studies published in the *Progress of Indic Studies*. This bibliography, though probably not quite complete, is yet indispensable to critical scholars dealing with the Great Epic.

⁷³ *A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies* presented to Prof. F. W. THOMAS,

⁷⁴ *P. V. Kane Festschrift*.

In spite of his preoccupation with all this great work SUKTHANKAR never limited his interests; during 1933-34 he delivered a series of lectures under the auspices of the University of Bombay as the Wilson Philological Lecturer under the title 'Life and Growth of Languages'. Under the new arrangements for postgraduate instruction in Poona he continued to guide M.A. students in Ancient Indian Culture, delivering weekly lectures in the Institute. He was several times Sectional President at the All-India Oriental Conference. During the last of these occasions, in 1940, he allowed his address to be published in the *Bhāratīya Vidyā*,⁷⁵ and any one reading it is struck at once by his lively spirit and freshness of approach which always kept him alive to new ideas and impressions.

Two short papers were contributed by SUKTHANKAR under the general title EPIC QUESTIONS. The first of these is the opening article in the first volume of the *Bulletin* of this Institute and is connected with the reading *Hāsyarūpeṇa Śaṁkaraḥ* as opposed to *hamsarūpeṇa cēśvaraḥ* of the Vulgate.⁷⁶ The paper itself has the sub-title: Does Indra assume the form of a swan? The paper conclusively proves that the *hamsa* incarnation of Indra is nothing but a canard. The second of the series is, unfortunately, the last paper to be published by SUKTHANKAR, and deals once again with the Parvasamgraha figures.⁷⁷ It is an interesting contribution and deserves careful reading by a critical scholar who would like to deal with Mbh. textual criticism.

The short introduction to the *Āraṇyakaparvan* is very interesting and instructive. Dated in August 1942, it contains however his experience of the past seventeen years of work on the Critical Edition. As a result the language clearly expresses the fundamental principles, which may be quoted here just to show the way in which he was making himself approachable to a larger group of scholars who are not specialists:⁷⁸

When the *Sāradī-K* version (which is the best Northern version) and the Southern recension are placed *vis-à-vis*, we can in general reconstruct the original with confidence, barring a certain number of minor verbal fluctuations in the shape of synonymous phrasings, which remain indeterminate without affecting the construction or obscuring

⁷⁵ BV 3. It is reprinted again in the *Proc. and Trans. of the All-Indi. Or. Conf* Tirupati, pp 593-609

⁷⁶ *Bull DCRI* 1. 1-7.

⁷⁷ *Silver Jubilee Volume of Amala BORI* 23.

⁷⁸ Introduction, p. xviii.

the sense. The concord between Śāradā K version and the Southern recension in point of general content is striking and forms a sure basis for constituting a single text. Contamination between the K version and the S recension cannot be proved but contamination between the B D version and the S recension is not impossible. The agreements between the B D and S recension have nevertheless been as a rule utilized to arrive at a tentative stop-gap based on the indications of documental evidence. But it should be noted that the K S agreements have far greater documental authority and probative value than the B-D-S agreements.

Let me put the matter in a slightly different way. The highest documental probability we can demand and expect is when all Mss of our critica^l apparatus—which is the same as saying, all our different versions—agree on a reading or a feature. We must accept this as the original *at least we do not wish to question it, at present*. In the absence of such complete concord the next best combination is the agreement between the Śāradā version and the Southern recension (against B D). Third in importance is, in my opinion, the concord between the Southern recension and the Bengali-cum Devanāgarī version (against the Śāradā). Fourth in order stands the agreement between only Northern versions or only Southern versions *inter se* which I consider, in general, as of equal value. With the proviso that a passage, or a stanza or even a little line which is not necessary to the context, may be rejected, if it is actually omitted entirely in even one of the important versions, since as experience has shown, the chances of conflation are always very much greater than those of accidental or intentional omission.

The italicised words will indicate a new phase that was gradually coming over SUKTHANKAR. While still interested in the Critical Edition of the Great Epic to which he had devoted the best part of his life, he was slowly being drawn towards the content of the Mbh, not as it was in the constituted text only, but in the entire Mss tradition. There was a double approach to this problem, or to be more precise, a threefold approach; in the first place the mass of accretion, interpolation, conflation, etc. was symptomatic of a certain phase in the life of the nation where the original text grew into these gigantic proportions. Then again there was a central theme which was pervading the whole of the epic and around which it moved. And finally there was the question of higher criticism, which could come in only after lower criticism had done its work properly.

When SUKTHANKAR says: '*at least we do not wish to question it, at present*', he indicates thereby the possibility of going behind this constituted text—although a distant possibility—and of arriving at the

which has now become the great epic of SUKTHANKAR's own life. This paper can only be concluded fittingly in his last public utterance, at Poona the inspiring words of which still continue to ring in the ears of those who listened to him on that unforgettable 5th January 1943 :⁸²

' There is a danger that in our pseudo-scientific mood we may be tempted to discard this great book, thinking that we have outgrown it. That would be capital blunder. That would in fact mean nothing but an indication of our will to commit suicide, national suicide, the signal of our national extinction. For never was truer word spoken than when the late German Indologist Herman OLDENBERG said that "in the Mahābhārata breathe the united soul of India, and the individual souls of her people". And why is that? Because the Mahābhārata is the national saga of India. It is, in other words, the content of our collective unconscious. And just for that reason it refuses to be discarded. We must therefore grasp this great book with both hands and face it squarely. Then we shall recognize that it is our past which has prolonged itself into the present. *We are it!* I mean the real WE! Shall we be guilty of strangling our own soul? NEVER '

December 1943.

S. M. KATRE.

In the interior of pādas I have noted only eight cases *saha āsate* 4 7b
pramlocū urvaṣī 17ā (twice) 10 11b *kṛtavarmā anādhṛstih* 13 57c
naiva rtuṁ 34 10a *ekavastrā adhoniv* 60 15a *trayah kileme adhana*
bhavanti 63 1a (at the cesura in a tristubh) *sada uttamapūrusah* 65 8d
 Again the Mss frequently try to bridge the hiatus by secondary changes

Secondary crasis or double sandhi

paundraḥ vasudeveti 13 19c for °deva[h] iti
hamseti dibhaketī ca 20 31b, for hamsa[h] iti dibhaka[h] iti
sendrāpi deva 60 30d for sendrā[h] api
codyamānāpi 61 28b for codyamānā[h] api
esa vai dāsaputreti 63 29c for dāsaputra[h] iti

Initial ā absorbed (*abhiṁhita*) after final e or o

brahmano jnam 20 34c
rdhyato tmanam 45 16c
te tmanam 68 8c

There is little else that concerns phonology. Three times a feminine i-stem in composition has the final i shortened in places where metre requires, or at least favours a short. While these might also be considered morphological changes (shift from i to i declensional type) they are doubtless primarily phonetic. *devakīnandana* (for *devakī*°) 22 31b and 56b, both times at the end of a śloka. In this position a long syllable is never tolerated. —*gāndhārīputrasya* 63 19c at the beginning of a tristubh, the third syllable of which is regularly short when the cesura is postponed being prevailingly long only when the cesura follows the fourth syllable (JAOS 59 163). Here to be sure we have one of the rare cases in which the cesura follows the sixth syllable. But they seem to tend to follow the quantitative scheme of those with cesura after the fifth, certainly not of those with early cesura. The shortening of i is probably to be considered metrical.

An extraordinary case of *haplology* has been assumed not without some misgivings, in 18 3b *cavayorjunah* for *cāvayor arjunah*, see note on the passage in Addenda.

Morphology

A few stray matters concerning noun and pronoun inflection

The nom pl of an i-stem is used as accus in 48 9d *rāsayah* (for *rasin*)

The nom pl of the stem *ap* is used as accus in 49 8d *āpah* (for *apah*)

From a masculine *in* stem we have a curious *accus sg in -im*, based on proportional analogy, after the noun *in* 1 (following the feminine 1-declension!) *prāṭikāmīm* 60 1c

The stem *sṛnga* has masculine gender, instead of the regular neuter, in 19 18b *śṛngam samahāntam* (*accus sg*)—Similarly *caṇḍa* regularly neuter, is masculine at 47 3a

The stem *daṇḍata* *deity* is regularly neuter, masculine gender is authorised for it lexically, but has not been discovered in literary occurrences. In 5 90b it seems to be masculine

The dative form *mahiyam* is prakritically used as genitive, instead of *mama* in 70 20c *jūṭapriyatām mahiyam dhig mām kṣesabhāginīm*, "sic upon this my love of life, which has resulted in affliction!" It would seem forced and improbable to construe the form as dependent on *kṣesabhāginīm*, which has resulted in affliction for me, in view of the position of the word

Verb forms in this book have more interest than noun forms

We find first a considerable number of unaugmented preterites nearly all imperfects but one aorist (the last in the list). Naturally many MSS usually remove the irregularity, but there is little doubt that in most cases the original contained it *jñāpayat* 12 34d *prajāye'ām* 16 34c, *abhiṣṇatām* 16 49d *samaratayan* and *kurāt* 19 20b and 20c, *grhṇita* 19 43c, *pratiḡrhnima* 19 50c (probably imperf rather than present with secondary ending cf below) *lhrāmayad* 22 5c, *upayad* 27 14d *kurūtūm* 40 2d, *icchat* 41 3d *samaratayan* 42 40d, *sabhājayata* 42 52d (from the quotation in PW it would appear that the imperfect forms of this peculiar denominative are regularly unaugmented), *pariḡrhnitam* 46 33c *prajacchetūm* 48 42a *vibhūta* 61 52c *gamayad* 66 4c, *vyavaśṛyanta* 72 22c, *anajṛṇsom* 72 26d

Irregularities of personal endings also occur. Especially frequent is confusion of the primary 1 plural ending *mas* with the secondary (also perfect, and subjunctive imperative) ending *ma*. Thus we find *-mas* in the perfect *sustumās* 14 11f, 16 2d 64 1d, in the optative *kurāṣmas* 58 27c, and in the subj impv *kurāṣmas* 65 1a. Correspondingly we find present or future forms in *ma* *icclāma* 6 17c, *sādhāma* 18 3c *anāma* 19 11d *ecclāma* 33 11b *kurāma* 42 40b *sma* 52 10d (not all likely to be the particle *sma* in my opinion). In a few of these notably *vibhūta* and *ecclāma* metre would make the regular form

impossible in the present position of the word. On the other hand, several of the forms occur at the end of lines, where obviously metre could not be concerned.

The properly secondary ending *-dhvam* of the 2 pl middle, is thrice used with presents *manyadhvam* 20 2b *jānīdhvam* 34 3a, *vivadadhvam* 63 17b.

Strong and weak present stem-forms are interchanged, strong being used for weak in *brauhi* 22 34b and 25 13c and weak for strong in *ādadmi* 20 25b.

Unusual present stem formations *prayujmahe* 35 15d (vedic) — *pratyapīsan* 42 27b (*apīsan* AV, WHITNEY, *Roots*) — *krndhi* 2 sg imv of *krī* 'cut', 64 10d (quite without recorded analogy I suspect influence of *krdhi* from *kr*, regarded as an aorist see below) — *vitandānāh* 33 4d, pres mid pple, disputing cf *vitanda* noun the *Dīātup* has *tandate* (thematic !)' trike — *archati* (for *reccati*) 19 46b. Thematic (1st class) present forms of *dā* (perhaps hardly worth noting since they are familiar from the Veda onwards) *adadad* 48 22c, *ādadeyam* 71 17a.

Future *glahīsyati*, from *glah* 'play at dice', apparently hapax legomenon, but obviously based on the analogy of *grahīsyati* from *grah*.

Perfect, without reduplication, *pravepāte* 16 35d (cf RENOUE, *Gr Scie*, §333c).

Aorist *krdhi* 60 30b, and *krthāh* 40 22d, 53 5d, 65 10d (always with *irā*). Also with *mā* *majjīh* 55 9d *kopisthāh* 59 3c, and *khanth* 59 8d.

Active endings with clearly and definitely passive forms *dahyanti* 28 22d, *dhmāyati* 45 30d, *drsyami* 62 5d. Other violations of Pāṇinian rules regarding *parasmaipada* and *ātmanepada* endings in particular roots are so frequent in the epic that it has not seemed necessary to list them.

Gerunds. The ending *-tvā* is applied to roots compounded with preverbs or other elements, not only causatives and denominatives in *-aya-* (where it is specially frequent, see EDGERTON, *Language*, 13 108) as in *niwartayitvā* 2 20a, but also in *ādikṛtvā* 52 17d, and *abhyutsmayitvā* 63 12a. In the last we have the further irregularity that the gerund is based on the present stem, not on the root, as regularly in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit and Pāli Prakrit (see *ibid* 111).

Contrariwise, simple roots may take the suffix *-ya*, which belongs regularly to compounds. Thus *grhya* 3 3c, 17 4c, 46 25d, *pūjya* 42 38c, and *vācya* 2 11a, 23 6a, 42 53d, 52 34d. This last is always preceded by *vasati*, which however must be regarded as a separate word, not as compounded with the following form of *vac-*, since it is sometimes separated from it by other words.

One alleged infinitive form, the monstrously impossible *īntum* occurring in the vulgate for our *īntum* 30 26c, and hence quoted in our grammars and dictionaries, must now be rejected from the text, see my note ad loc in Addenda.

An irregular causative form *dīks* occurs in 30 21a *dīksāpaya*. It is the only form of its kind cited in PW from this root.

Syntax

A few stray cases will be mentioned of syntactic constructions which seem worthy of note.

An absolute, or semi-absolute genitive (cf SPEYER, *VSS* §212) seems to be found in 34 13

asya dharmapraurttasya pārthivaivam cikṛtsataḥ
karān asmai prayacchāmah so yam asmān na manyate

Since he was proceeding according to dharma and was desirous of effecting kingship, we give tribute to him, but he does not respect us. The genitives may be felt as more or less depending on *prayacchāmah*, but the occurrence of the dative form *asmāi*, "to him" just before this verb, makes such a construction at least harsh.

In 41 22, 23 and 25 (essentially one case, the two latter patterned after the first), I see no way of construing the genitives except as absolute:

icchataḥ sā hi śimhasya bhisma jīvaty asamsayam
icchatām pārthivendrānām bhisma jīvasy asamsayam
icchatām kila nāmāham jivāmy esam mahākṣitūm

A genitive with the force of an ablative (SPEYER *VSS* §73) is apparently used in 13 43c *scapuram sūraserānām prayajau* 'he went from the Sūrasena country to his own city.

In 4 4c, *kurusrestho* seems to be a nominative pendens, without grammatical construction.

A vocative appears to be used with a third person verb in 6 2a, *bhagavān nyāyam āhaitam* see note ad loc in Addenda.

A singular verb occurs with a following dual subject in 5.106d *dīyate madhusarpisī*, but the case is peculiar; see note ad loc. in Addenda—In 6.18d many Mss., including \dot{S}_1 and K_{1-3} read *śrūyaṭām .sabhāh*, a singular verb with a following plural subject. I am still not sure that this reading should not be adopted; but it must be admitted that it would be very bizarre, and I have finally adopted the variant *śrūyantām*.

In 66.31cd occurs an example of *mā* with the future. *mā*. *bhaviṣyasi*, "lest you become. . . ."

Twice, in 67.5d and 15d, occurs the optative form *iyāt* with the sense of a preterite; see note ad loc. in Addenda and references there quoted.

Noteworthy is the occurrence of the enclitic *enam* (documented uniformly by all Mss. without exception) at the beginning of a pāda in 17.15a

No. 2: METRE

(In the *Sabhāparvan*)

There are no prose passages in the *Sabhāparvan*. There is a single verse (38.40) composed in the metre called *halamukhī*, which consists of four pādas each with the scheme — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ —. There are 151 *triṣṭubh-jagatī* stanzas, one of which contains six pādas. The rest, 2238 in all, are *anustubh* or "epic śloka"; 82 of these contain three lines or six pādas.

As to the structure of the śloka stanzas, I have nothing to add in principle to HOPKINS's treatment in *The Great Epic*. It seems worth while, however, to list the few hypermetric śloka pādas which occur. They all belong to the regular type treated by HOPKINS l. c. 252; the added syllable appears invariably as one of two initial shorts, and the first five syllables are always ◡ — ◡ — ◡ —, without regard to the character of the cadence. All occur in the first half of their respective lines, never in the second.

anugamyamāṇaḥ śuśubhe, 2.17c

ghṛtapāyasena madhunā, 4.2a.

vīrajombaraś cītramālyo, 7.5c

adītir dītir danuś caiva, 11.29a

vyajayad dhanamjayo rājan, 24.11c.

upanīyamānam yuktam ca, 33.26c.

upagīyamānā nārībhir, 52.35c.

vidurādayaś ca tām ārtām, 70.22a.

śikāṭā vapam saṁvyasācī, 71.4a and 14c.

Most of them seem not to be recorded, in the senses found here, outside of this book. Some few appear elsewhere, but rarely; these are included because of their rarity or problematic character. Some are recorded in the lexicon of BOHTLINGK and ROTH (which is abbreviated PW), but only from this book. Some others are there represented by different words, because the reading of the vulgate (Calcutta and Bombay editions) is different from ours. In these latter cases, as a rule, I quote the vulgate reading after that of our text. The majority of the words here listed are proper names, personal, mythical, or geographical. For many of these the Mss. offer variants, sometimes in large number, but in this list only the form adopted in the text is given, even when it is much less than certain.

angacūda, n of a yakṣa, 10 16c
anantadarṣa, n of a ṛṣi, 7 12c
aniketa, n of a yakṣa, 10 17c
anuvāsa, pl n or epithet of a people 47 15c
anuvāsa, some part of a wagon, 49 6b (see comm's glosses)
anuvāsa, "bringing along with", 9 7b (see note in Addenda)
anupātin, "having consequences, leading to" (+ dat.), 56 1a.
anuprastar, "one who investigates searchingly", 5, 29c
anupriya, "friendly disposed", 5 63b, 57 16a, 17b
anubala, "of reduced, meagre strength", 16.6a.
anuvāsa, " (men) of subordinate castes " (?) 58 5c
anuvāsa, "army-follower", 23 14d
**anūāhi*, "Antioch" (?), 28.49a (see note in Addenda)
apācīna, "contrary, ill-omened", 72 8d
apsuḥomya, n of a ṛṣi, 4 10c.
abhisārī, n of a city, 24.18a
abhyutmayitā, gerund, 63.12a (see under Grammar, p 4, PW records only pple.
abhyutmayat from this verb)
aripraṇud, n of a king, 8 9a
aravāsa, n of a ṛṣi 4 9c
āsvamedhesvara, n of a king, 26 8a
astacandraya, "having the form of the eight-day-old moon, half-moon shaped", 66 14b (cf *astamīcandra* in SCHMIDT's *Nachträge* to PW.)

astī, n of a daughter of Jarasandha 13 30a
asmūṛta, "selfishness, selfish act" 61 10a.
ākṛṣa, n of a king 31 11c
ākṣepa, "throw (of dice)", 58 30d (cf *samutkṣepa*)
ānimāndvya, n of a ṛṣi, 4 10d (see Addenda)
āśrāvya, n of a ṛṣi, 7 16d
āstāra, "place on which the dice are thrown", 51 3d (see Addenda)
āhṛti n of a prince, 4 27a, 13.21a, 28 39a (vulg *ākṛti* always)
indrakṛta, "plowed by Indra, growing wild", 47 9a
indraparvata, n of a mountain, 27 13b
ira, n of an apsaras, 10 11b
īra, n of a princely family, 8 22b
uttama, n of a people, 27.3b
uttara, n. of a people, 27.3b.
uttarapṛyotiḥ, n. of a place, 29 10c (vulg, ° *jyotiḥ*)
udārā, an uncertain part of a palace, 32 12b.
umāṅga, n. of a mountain or country, 27 5c (vulg *bhallaṅga*).
upakṛta, n of a tribe, 28.43b
upadeśa, "neighbouring territory", 27.9c.
upāsāṅga, "quiver", 49.9a
uragā, n of a city, 24 18c.
usadgaṇa, n of a king, 8 23a
ṛta, "righteous", 31 7c (in this sense, of persons, recorded only as Vedic)
chopāda, pl n of a people, 28 47a; 47 16a.
ekapāda = preceding, 47.18d
ekāśanāyoga, pl n of (one or two) people (s), 48 3a

- a da* made of (the skin of) the animal called
eda (usually *edaḥa*) 47 3a
oṣṭrakṛmika pl n of a people 28 48d (vulg
uṣṭra^o)
audumbara pl n of a people 48 12c.
auṣṇiṣa pl n (or epithet)² of a people 47 15c
kamala n of a king 4 19c
kampana n. of a king 4 19f
karavat by way of tribute 25 15d
karahālaka n. of a king (or place) 28 47d.
karṅkara n of a ṛṣi 4 12c
kalabha n or epithet of a king 13 12b (vulg
karabha)
kalāpa n of a ṛṣi 4 13f
kośeraka n of a yakṣa 10 15a
kaḥiṭa n of a Vṛṣṇi 13 58a (vulg *kaṇṭha* see
Addenda)
kākṣiṭa =^a *ant* n. of a ṛṣi 19 5d
kāca n. of a king 27 22d
kāmyāha n of a lake 48 19d
kāyāya n of a people 48 12a
kāra tribute —*kara* (recorded only
lexically) in *kṛta kāra* 48 18c
kāraṇika, title of an official who trained
princes and warriors in science 5 23a
kāraṣkara pl n. of a people 46 21c.
kaṭava pl n. of a people 47 10b
kaukura pl. n of a people 48 15a
kukṣa mant n of a mountain 27 5d (vulg
sukṣmant)
kuṭṭikṛta a designation of a textile fabric,
"made by splinting (?) 47 23a (vulg
kuṭi)^o
kuṇḍa n of a people 4 22b 23 13a 14b
48 3c (vulg *kuṇḍa*)
kuṇḍaladhara n of a naga 9 9c.
kundamāna pl n of a people 48 13a
kustumburu n. of a yakṣa 10 15c.
kṛtakṣana n. of a ksatriya 4 24b
kṛtavega, n of a king 8 9b
kṛtasrama n of a ṛṣi 4 12b
kṛtat n of a king 48 24a.
kṛṣivāla n. of a ṛṣi 7 11d.
kṛṣṇa n of a naga 9 8c.
kevala pl n of a people, 28 47b
kautarya stake (n gambling) 58 22d
karātaka fem *ubā* of the Kīratas 48 10a.
koṅkanada pl n of a people 24 17b
koṇāḥogoratas n. of a ṛṣi 4 14b
kollagiri n. of a place 28 42c.
ko a venom bag (of a snake) 59 3b
kaukura pl n of a people 48 14a see also
caṇṭhaḥ kaukura
kaṇṭhika n of a serpent-demon (cf *koṣa*)
19 + 10c also another name for Hamsa
Jarasamdha's general, 20 30c
kharva a very large number 58 3b *tr*₁
kharva consisting of three kharvas 47 5c
cf *traukharva*
gayakarna n of a yakṣa, 10 15d
gandakāṇḍa n of a yakṣa 10 15a
gandak yā n. of a river = *gandak* 18 27a
gaṇṭhiṭha n of a ṛṣi 7 11a
gopālākaccha n of a country 27 3a (vulg
^a *kaḥṭṭa*)
goratha n of a mountain 18 30c
govāsana pl n of a people, 47 5a
gaurasura n of a ṛṣi 7 10b
gaurāśiṭa, n. of a king 8 17b
grāmāreya pl n of a people 29 8b (vulg
^o *niya*)
ghaṭajāṇuḥ n of a ṛṣi 4 11b
ghaṭodara n of a demon 9 13c
caṭradāṭa, n. of a Vṛṣṇi 13 56b
caturāśva, n of a king 8 10c
caturyu a name of Jarasamdha 13 8a 20a
cārmetra n of an apsaras 10 10c.
citra n of a naga, 9 8d
citrāsena, another name of Dibbhaka (q v)
20 30c.
citrāsena n of an apsaras 10 10b
civāṇṇas n of a yakṣa 10 17d.
caṇṭhaḥ kaukura pl. n. of (one or) two people (s)
46 21b (cf *kaukura*)
jagdhābandha, n of a ṛṣi 4 14a
jaṭāsura n of a king 4 21a
jambhaka n of a king 28 7b
jaradgata n. of a country 27 4b (vulg
jalodbhava)
jaṭūkarna, n. of a ṛṣi 4 12c.
dibbhaka n. of one of Jarasamdha's generals
13 11d 36c 40c, 41d 42a 17 25a 18 1a
20 13b (vulg *dumbhaka*)
talavana (?) pl n of a people 28 48c.
tāmra n. of a dvīpa 28 46a

tārkaṣa pl n of a people 48 14a
tīrti kalmāsa speckled like parturders
 epithet of horses 25 6a 19a 47 4a
tīrṃgūla n of a king 28 46c
turaya n of a king 8 8c
turā quckh 64 10a (see Addenda)
tyāka n of a king 8 16a
tyāhara see *kharva*
tyāhara = preced ng 4a 24c
tyāhara n of a rṣi 4 11a
tyāhara n (or epithet) of a people 47 15a
tyāhara n of a king 8 15b
dasātara n of a demon 9 14d
dāmasara n. of a rṣi 4 11a
dāmasara n of a people 47 5b
dāmasara n of a city 24 12a (vulg. *dāmasara*)
dīrghaprajña n of a king 27 2b (vulg. *dīrgha*
prajña)
dīrghavēṇa pl n of a people 48 3b
durmukha n of a demon 9 13a
dṛuṣṭhāga pl n of a people 48 12c
deva play gambling in akṣa-deva 55 5a
devarāja n of a king 8 23b
devaharya n of a rṣi 7 16c
devata play (of dice) 56 10a
drumaputra n of a king 2a 1d
divyaṣa n (or epithet) of a people 47 15a
dhāman n of a king 8 23d
dhādhana rich in wisdom 18 17d
naya n of a king 8 19d
nāla stalk (= *nāla*) in *māsa*-
 bean stalk 19 15c (see Addenda)
nighna n of a people 46 21b (vulg. *nigra*)
nidānta n of a Vṛṣi 13 58a
nirah *niraha* declares 57 2d
nirah *nirah* sum to declare 44 22d
niskula border environs 24 27b (see
 Addenda ad loc) 47 9c
nirasta kama having abandoned (surrendered)
 one's free choice 60 42b 43d
panca-arpala pl n of a people 29 6d
pancahasa n. of a king 8 12b
pañña ? epithet of a textile fabric 47 22d
parā-svas to rely upon with loc 57 18a
pariundhu adv about the Indus 47 9d
 (vulg. *pāres nālu*)
parnāda n of a rṣi 4 11b
paritropāṇ n. of a rṣi 4 13c

pasupa pl n of a people 48 3c
paśūbhūm n. of a country 27 8d
pāṇḍu used of the sons of Paṇḍu 55 14a
 62 10a
pāravarṣa adherent of hostile party
 57 12a
pārjāta n of a rṣi 5 3a (cf. next)
pārjāta n of a rṣi 4 12d (cf. preceding)
paṇḍaka n of a yakṣa 10 17a
paṇḍaka n of a king (or place?) 28 47d
 (vulg. *paṇḍaka*)
paṇḍaka n of a demon 9 13d
paṇḍaka a kind of gold said to be collected by
 ants 48 4a
paṇḍakara former thief man with
 criminal record 5 72c
paṇḍakara n of a yakṣa 10 17a
pāṇu n of Arjuna's charioteer 30 30b
pāṇḍava n of a country 47 31b
pāṇḍava n of a king 8 20d
pāṇḍava n of a king 8 9b
pāṇḍava n of a king 8 18b
paṇḍa n of a king 8 19d
paṇḍa n of a rṣi 4 15c
paṇḍa n. of a city 28 38d
paṇḍaka pl n of a people 48 13b
paṇḍaka (m) speck 5 68c
paṇḍakā fem. ? repelling 5 53d
paṇḍaka pl n. of a people 48 3b
paṇḍaka n of a yakṣa 10 15b
paṇḍaka n. of a yakṣa 10 17b
paṇḍaka n of a rṣi 9 10a
paṇḍakara, eastern Suhmas n of a people
 27 24a (vulg. *paṇḍaka*)
paṇḍakā speaking words that claim to be
 wise, 61 38b (adjective to *paṇḍakā*
 Bhagavadg 2 11b the meaning of which is
 established by this)
paṇḍaka patronymic regularly for vulg
paṇḍaka 56 2a 7a 57 17a
paṇḍaka n of a daughter of Jarasandha 13 30a
paṇḍaka denom. is glad 56 5b
paṇḍaka n of a yakṣa 10 16b
paṇḍaka n of a yakṣa 10 16b
paṇḍaka = *paṇḍaka* (Arjuna) 58 20d
paṇḍakara n of a rṣi 4 14d
paṇḍaka n of a rṣi 4 12a
paṇḍaka n of a rṣi 4 9d
paṇḍaka pl n of a people 47 15d

- budbudā* n of an apsaras 10 11d
bhadrakāra pl n of a people 13 2a
bhāngasari n or patronym c of a king 8 15a
 (vulg ^o *suri*)
bhīmajānu n of a king 8 19c
bhūmi 'basic capital (opposed to *phala*
 'interest profit) 47 2c
bhūṅga a certain bird 38 17d 41 18d 19a
bhogant n of a king (?) 27 11b
manvant n of a nag 9 9c 19 10c
manūṣakṣa epithet of horses probably of the
 colour of frogs' eyes 25 6b
matamayūra pl n of a people 29 5b
madarvika n of a mountain 27 8b (vulg
madadhāra)
madrakānta n of a king 4 21a
madhyamākāya pl n of a people 29 7a
mahāsama of great gait (of horses) 47
 26c
mahāsīras n. of a ṛṣi 4 8b of a demon 9 14b
mahāśula n of a king 8 18a
mahecca n of a place 29 6a (vulg *mahettiha*)
mācella n of a king 31 13d
mādhātūtiṭha n of a locality 13 52b
mālā n of river 18 28d
mājāda n or epithet of a fabulous bull killed
 by Brhadraṭha 19 15a
māsakālaka pertaining to one month's time
 54 20d
mukhya first (caste) — *brāhmaṇa* in *mukhya*
vāsas wearing brahmins garments
 18 23b
mumjaketu n of a kṣatriya 4 18d
nuracipattana n of a town 28 4cd (vulg
surabhipattana)
niṣikāda n of a nāga 9 10a
meghaśāsas n of demon 9 14d
meghaśāhana n of a king 13 12b
modāgiri n of a king (not a mountain ?) 27 19a
modāpura n of a city 24 10a
manūjāyana apparently patronymic of *āyū*
bhaktā (q v) 4 11c
mauleya n of a people 48 14c
rāmaka n of a mountain 28 46b
ruṣadāśva n of a king 8 13a
ruṣadgu n of a king 8 12c
rocāmāna n of a king 24 18d, of another king
 26 8b
romā, Roma 28 49a
rohaka n of a place (?) mountain 29 4d
ratā n of an apsaras 10 11d
ratāṣakṣa pl n (or epithet) of a people 47 15a
raha pl n of a people 24 24a
rahaṅgaḥa pl n of a people 46 21c
rahula n of a naga 9 8c n of a country (or
 king) 24 16c
rahtja n of a river (the Brahmaputra) 48 8d
 (vulg *rahtya*)
varāha n of a ṛṣi 4 12c
varāhakarna n of a yakṣa 10 16a
varapāla herd keeper applied to Kṛṣṇa
 41 17b
varga n of an apsaras 10 11c
varmaḥa pl of a people 27 12a
vastrapa pl n of a people 48 14b
vātasakṇḍha n of a ṛṣi 7 12a
vāyubhaktā n of a ṛṣi 4 11c
vārisena n of a king 8 18c n of a sea (lake)
 48 8c
vāṛpadamsa made of (the skin of) cats
 47 3a
valn n of a demon 9 14c
viśajūta n of an asura 9 15a
viṭaṇḍ vitandāna pple disputing
 33 4d
virūpa n of a demon 9 14b
viwardhana n of a kṣatriya 4 18d
viśālaka n of a yakṣa 10 15d
visvarūpa n of a demon 9 14a
viṣṣavāsin n of a yakṣa 10 17c
viṇḍāṣaka n of a city 29 10d (vulg *diṇyākata*)
venujaṅga n of a ṛṣi 4 12c
vayamaka pl n of a people 48 12b
varāma pl n of a people 47 10a
varin pl n of a princely family 8 22b
śakravāp n n of a snake 19 9a
śankha n of a demon 9 13a
sārmaka pl n of a people 27 12a
sānavatya pl n of a people 48 15d (vulg
sāga^o)
śikhānt n of a ṛṣi 2 12c
śikhāarta n of a yakṣa 10 16a
smutaka n of a ṛṣi 4 12a
suṇāṇṣiṭa (coloured ?) like a parrot's nose
 (brown faced Devabodha) 47 4b
sucakt acting purely rightly 5 70a
sūhara epithet of elephants 48 24b according
 to Nilakantha local name Cf KIRFEL
Kosmographie 329

śūra, pl n of a people (° or adjective), 48 12
śaurīśaka n of a place, 29 6a
śonitoda, n of a yakṣa 10 17b
śauṇḍika, pl n of a people, 48 12a
śrutāyudha, n. of a kṣatriya, 4 23a
śvetabhadra n of a guhyaka, 10 4d
samparsaka, nt substantive, in *gatra-sam*°, "thing that touches (the body)", 5 56b
samśrādāna, "resounding", 54 5a
samgranthana, "the fashioning origination (*kalahasya*) 51 11b
samgrāmajit, n. of a kṣatriya 4 19a
samjayantī, n of a city, 28 47c
sadaśvornu, n of a king 8 10c
sarvajastapāda, pl n of a people, 27 12a
samakṣa, pl n of a people, 27 14b
samutkṣepa, throw (of dice) 67 20c (cf *ākṣepa*)
samudrasāra, valuables from the sea , 48 30a
sampraudha "great proud = *praudha* 5 63a
sarpamālīn, n of a rṣi, 4 8b
sāmkāśya, n of a king, 8 10b
sāndraśīha, n of a yakṣa, 10 16a
sārīka, n or patronymic of two rṣis (dual *sārīkau*), 2 11d
śuklā, 'bespangled' ° (of a *śaṅkha*) 49 15a
sukūṭṭa, n of a people 13 23c
sutyapāla, n of a rṣi, 4 12b
sudharman, apparently n of Arjuna, 56 6d
sudharman, n of a kṣatriya, 4 24c
subala, n of a rṣi, 4 12d

subandhu n of a king of Kāśi, 27 6b (vulg. *subāhu*)
sumanḍala n. of a king, 23 14c
sumati, n of a demon, 9 13b
sumanas, n of a demon 9 13b
sumitra n of a rṣi, 4 8c
surūpa n of a demon, 9 14a
śāsūman n of a priest 30 34d
śuśūha, n of a king, 8 9a.
śuśhara pl. n of a people 13 25c.
śuśhanu, n of a demon 9 13a
śūryodayagiri n of a mountain 48 8b
saṁya, n of one of Kṛṣṇa's horses, 2 13d. (vulg *śaṁya*)
somayaj, 'employing soma', 7 9a
saurabheṣṭi, n of an apsaras, 10 11c
stuti-śāstra, dvandva = *stuta*° 11 26a (not to be emended with PW)
śphāti, 'bursting, blooming', 51 17b (see Addenda)
svana n of a demon, 9 13b
śastika, n of a snake, 19 9c.
hamsakōyana, pl n of a people, 48 13b
hamsāṁśuśarna, "hansa ray-coloured, white", 31 22c.
haribabhu, n of a rṣi, 4 14c
hājaka, n of a country, 25 3a; pl n. of a people, 25 5b.
haranyada, n of a rṣi, 7 16d
hṛdya, n of a rṣi, 7.11c.
hemanetra, n. of a yakṣa, 10 16d
hrīṇīśedha, 'restricted by shame', 49.2a (vulg *°nīśeva*; see Addenda).

UNPĀṆINIAN FORMS AND USAGES IN THE CRITICAL EDITION OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA¹

4 SANDHI²

By

E. D. KULKARNI

As a general rule Sanskrit allows no hiatus in a sentence. If a word ends in a vowel and the next word begins with a vowel, the two vowels coalesce according to certain rules laid down by Pāṇini's great grammar. But *Pragthya*s are exceptions : When the dual of a noun or a verb ends in *ī*, *-ū*, or *-e* these vowels do not combine with another following them³. The final *-o* of a particle is also considered as a *pragthya*.⁴ In the Critical Edition of the Mbh scarcely any unpāṇinian consonant sandhi is found, the present paper, therefore, deals mainly with vowel sandhi and visarga sandhi. The general rules of vowel sandhi are as follows. When any vowel, short or long, except the last four, is followed by the same vowel, short or long (*saṁāntīyasvara*), the substitute for both is the same vowel lengthened.⁵ The *guṇa* is the single substitute of the final *-a* or *-ā* of a preceding word and the simple vowel (*-i*, *-u*, *-r*, *-l* short or long) of the succeeding.⁶ Similarly if *-e*, *-ai*, *-o* or *-au* follow *-a* or *-ā*, *vrddhi* is the single substitute for both.⁷ Next when *-i*, *-u*, *-r* and *-l* short or long, are followed by a dissimilar vowel (*viśāntīyasvara*) the corresponding semi-vowels *-y*, *-v*, *-r* and *-l* are respectively substituted for them⁸. Lastly *-e*, *-o*, *-ai* and *-au* when followed by a vowel become *-ay*, *-av*, *-ūy* and *-āv*.⁹

¹ A pathetic interest attaches to the publication of this work. It is certainly an irony of fate that I have to publish one of the articles of the series suggested by late Dr V S Subhankar in a Memorial Volume in his honour, on the first anniversary of his death.

² For the previous study of the series see *Article BORI* 24 83-97 *BDCRI* 4 227-45. *NIA* 6 130 39. I gratefully record my obligations to Dr S M Katre for helping me substantially at every stage with his guidance and books.

³ ईद्वेदद्विचतम् प्रकृष्यम् ॥ ईद्वेदन्त द्विचतम् प्रकृष्यत स्यात् । (Siddhanta Kaumudi) on Pāṇini 1.1 11

⁴ ओत् ॥ ओदन्तो निवन् । प्रकृष्यः स्यात् । (Siddhanta Kaumudi) on Pāṇini 1.1 13

⁵ अकृ मरुतं दीपे ॥ अकृ मरुतेषु दीपे दीपे मरुतेषु स्यात् । (Siddhanta Kaumudi) on Pāṇini 6.1 101

⁶ आदगुणः ॥ अवर्णादपि षे पृथग्गोत्रेण मरुतेषु स्यात् । (Siddhanta Kaumudi) on Pāṇini 6.1 87

⁷ कश्चिदेषु ॥ अदेषु षे कश्चिदेषु स्यात् । (Siddhanta Kaumudi) on Pāṇini 6.1 82

⁸ दसं यमयि ॥ दसः स्यात् यम स्यादपि यमयि विद्वे । (Siddhanta Kaumudi) on Pāṇini 6.1 77.

⁹ पञ्चदशयानः ॥ पञ्चः पञ्चदश यान यान पञ्च स्यात् । (Siddhanta Kaumudi) on Pāṇini 6.1 73.

Of the *visarga sandhi*, we are concerned only with the two. When a *visarga* is preceded by *-a* and followed by *a* or a soft consonant, it is changed to *-u*, which with the preceding *-a* becomes *o*, secondly a *visarga* preceded by *-ā* and followed by a vowel or a soft consonant is dropped. It is also dropped when preceded by *-a* and followed by any vowel except *-a*; the two vowels thus brought together by the dropping of *visarga*, do not coalesce¹⁰

A critical examination of the material presented below clearly shows that *sandhi* was originally more flexible and that there was an overgrowing antipathy to forms of *sandhi*, not sanctioned or countenanced by Pāṇini's grammar, hiatus also came to be disapproved and was removed by certain expedients¹¹. The different portions of the Critical Text as well as the Critical Apparatus present the same phenomenon. An irregularity from Pāṇini's grammar is a common feature of the elastic epic diction, but a majority of them is often utilized *metri causa*. It naturally leads to regularization. That is why the manuscripts recorded in brackets, indicating the source of the reading concerned, betray surreptitious efforts of the scribes and redactors to eliminate hiatus and correct the wrong *sandhi* by the insertions of *hi*, *ca*, *tu*, *vā*, *api*, *atha*, *su* etc. between the vowels, or by recasting the whole *pada*, or by transposition or modification of words from the point of (a) *pada* (e.g. *jāyatīti* for *jāyateti*, *vidyatīti* for *vidyateti*), (b) tense (e.g. *babhūva* for *abHAVat*, *vahanti* for *uvāha*), (c) *upasarga* (e.g. *samgamyā* for *abhiḡamyā*; *vyāsāda* for *āsāsāda*), (d) synonyms (e.g. *haya* or *vāṇi* for *aśva*, *śakrāṇi* for *indrāṇi*; *pūjayitvā* for *arcayitvā*). Out of these devices towards regularization, the particles which are sandwiched between the vowels, show great variation from Ms. to Ms. But often enough these small particles are very instructive in determining the complex relationship of Ms.¹²

I. *Praghyā* in

A. *Nouns*.

1 14 5^d samupete dbhute naghe [Ko sampanne cadbhutena vā TG_{2 3} mumudāte tēda naga (T₁ tapodhanam T₂ tapodhane)]

1 19 16^d te gadham (K_{0 2 3} tam agadham K_{2m 4} D₂ te bhūnam T₂ te gadham)

¹⁰ Cf. WHITNEY Sanskrit grammar 59-60

¹¹ Prolegomena to the Ādi xchi

¹² Cf. V. S. SUKTHANKAR Ep. c. Stud. es VII ABORI 19 212

B Verb-

- 1 57 88^f jajñate straviśarsadau
 1 57 94^d jajñate 'stravidav ubhatau
 1 204 3^d vijabrate maraviva [TG (except G₁) °te yathamaraui]
 1 204 5^d (K₀ 4 N₁V₁D₅ °te yathamaraui), 1 211 9^d,
 1 218 32^b jagrñate svinau apī (S₁K₁N₁D₂ °te tathāsvinau)
 5 45 3^b śiśnyate ntarikṣe
 5 48 21^b śśmuvate ksayan (T_{2m} anuyatau akṣayan)

C. Particles

- 1 1038* 6 aho yam, 3 40 29*

II Hiatus between two pādas between

A. (a) -a and -a

- 1 2 115^{cd} dharmas ca ajijnāsan (K₁ 2 dharmas copy error G₁ 2 4 M dharmasya jijnāśartham
 ubim), 1 128* 16,
 1 290* 2 ca asuraṇam,
 1 54 13^{ab} ca arghyam gam ca [K₀₋₂ M rajyam gam ca, K₃B₄ gam arghyam (B₄ °rgham)
 ca],
 1 60 17^{ab} somaś ca āhaś ca
 1 67 17^{cd} duḥśanta astu (K₁ hy astu me B₄₅ tada me T₁G₁M tvayastu mama
 samgamah)
 1 86 12^{ab} amuketaś ca agotracarano,
 1 862* 7 grhasiḥasya anutam (All except G₁ 3 D₄ °śyāparanutam)
 1 87 14^{ab} narendra apy ekakṣah (T₁ hy apy ekakṣah, G₁ hy ekakṣah)
 1 980* 1 ca asti
 1 96 42^{ab} kalena atyakraman (S₁KD₅ tv abhyakṛā° N₃ ti atyakṛā° BD₄ sotyakṛā° D₁
 tyaktakṛama D₂ abhyakṛā°)
 1 1081* putra asty atra
 1 109 21^{cd} ca adharmasūtham (S₁KND_nD₁ ca (K3 va) py adharmasūtham ca G₁ cādharmasūtham
 ca]
 1 1366* caiva anyam, 1 1388* 2 eva anuyato n
 1 1415* 1 vegena śvāttham, 1 1600* 2 ca atra
 1 169 5^{cd} kaunteya adṛśyantāḥ (S₁ tv adṛ° K₁ tv adṛśyanta, D₅ nādr°),
 1 1841* 2 agastyena agadhō,
 1 179 19^{cd} ca astuvama tatva (K₂ stuvantas)
 1 1987* 3 mahāprajña adya,
 1 218 11^{cd} ca apratiśtho (K₄NV₁ BD_nD_n D₁ 4 copy apratiśtho D₅ ca na prati°, T₁ ca
 hy aprā°),
 1 2159* 3 partha astram,
 3 13 119^{ab} vrapāntya ajeyah (S₁K₃D₁ 2 hy ajeyah, Dc vjeyah),
 3 27 23^d ca agniveśyo (S₁K₃B₁ D_c D₂ insert apī before agnī°)
 3 36 1^{ab} kalena antakena (S₁K₁ 2 BD (D₁ 3 missing) hy antakena),

- 3 184* 2 samagamya aj tena 3 333* kal samsargadosa ka apav tro
 3 80 77^{ef} v ra anala ($\dot{S}_1 K_1$ 4 $D_c D_n D_1$ jvalano D_2 jvalane)
 3 80 121^{ab} maharaja anu samvatsaram ($\dot{S}_1 K_1 G_2$ to anu $T_1 C_1$ sata $T_2 G_3$ satam)
 3 81 15^f naravyaghra agnistomaphalam
 3 81 67^d kuruvarasrestha anājanma (D_3 mama janma)
 3 82 77^{ab} maharaja adyapi
 3 82 79^d tatra abh ganya ($D_n D_1$ 2 namaskṛtya D_c samganya)
 3 82 104^d rajendra asura^{na}am ($K_2 D_n D_3$ hy asura^{na} $T_1 C_1$ rajanyo va $T_2 G_2$ 4 M_1 rajanyam va)
 3 430* tatra agn stomaphalam ($K D_2$ vahni)
 3 87 0^d v ra asito [N to as to (K_3 praśito $D_c D_4$ 6 tus to)]
 3 99 5^{ab} ca antariks a [N (except K_3 4) M ins apt between the padas]
 3 106 1^{ef} samadha^{va}anta a^{va}grahane^{ka}nk^{sa}rah [$\dot{S}_1 K_1$ 2 4 hy as^{la}° D_3 5 te^{va} \dot{S} (except M_1) v]
 3 106 6^{ab} samāhuya asamanjashutam ($\dot{S}_1 K_1$ 2 to asamanjash^ulam $K_4 D_3$ 5 sasamanjah^a D_c samanjasah^a sutam)
 3 106 36^d sam dhaya amsuman ($\dot{S}_1 K_1$ 2 4 to amsuman D_3 h₂ amsu)
 3 148 37^{ab} natma acirat ($\dot{S}_1 K_1$ 3 D_c D_3 5 G_1 nac rat)
 3 779* caiva ap 3 851* varu^{na}astre^{na} a^{va}navarsam
 3 867* caiva adbhutam
 3 178 4^{ab} ca ah msa [N (except $D_n D_{4-6}$) py ahum^{sa}]
 3 181 34^{ab} amutra amutra
 3 183 24^{ab} ca abh ya mud to ($G_1 M_1$ subhik^{sa}anuc to M prabhavabhyucito) 3 187 27^{ab} ca a adhy h
 3 199 13^{ab} vin citya atrapi [S (except $G_3 M_1$) tatrapi]
 3 212 13^{ab} ca astubhyo
 3 243 4^d tatra ati sarvan ayam kratuh (M hy ati \dot{S}_1 kratun sarvan aham to ati K_1 2 kratuh sarvam tv ayam hy ati K_3 4 D_1 3 5 T_2 kratun sarvan ayam hy ati G_1 kratun sarvan avap^{sa}as)
 3 283 16^{ab} tena anunito [K (K_3 m as ng) D_3 to anu^{na} to]
 3 1358* 8 tatra agn hotrapar pasaya 4 76* tata asce^{va}°
 4 3 8^d karma avabuddham (K vyavabuddham $B_1 D_6$ hy anu^a B_2 3m hy anubaddham B_3 jnanabaddham B_4 hy annabaddham D_7 svanubaddha D_8 h₂ ava°
 4 3 10^d upaghraya api
 4 107* kama^s ca arthas ca (D_6 svarthas)
 4 9 13^d upaghraya api (D_8 10 $T_1 C_2$ hy ap)
 4 333* 9 ca atchidra^{na}anā 4 353* 1 ca adhomukhamukh
 4 439* samupasanganya abhyabh sata durmat h ($K_2 D_4$ licalah lamastuh tah) 4 473* 1 bhūmasenena ad^{ra}śya
 4 24 17^{ef} manuyyendra ata urdhvam (TG_2 sadha bhuyo yad rochas)
 4 579* 2 v ratasya anvayudhyata 4 623* 10 tena arjunena
 4 863* 1 ca as atthama
 4 52 17^{ab} adaya atha aktm [B_1 3 5 D_2 5 8 10 12 c rathasaktm B_4 D_n D_1 3 4 6 9 rathaschakt m (D_4 °ccunnam)]
 4 940* ca arthavidya 4 1086* 2 tata aj nan
 4 1134* 5 yasva akāmasya 5 38* 3 gov nda aham

- 5 58* subhadra ca abhimanyus ca
 5 59* 3 satyam ca ah msa ca (D₁₀ kṣamahimsa TG₁ 4 5 M₁ 2 daya capi)
 5 29 8^{cd} karmāṇa va atandrito (K₂D₂ h₁ atandrito K₄ svatan^o T₁G₁ 5 tv atan^o)
 5 30 3^b samjaya anamayam (K₁ 3 sammanayan T₂ hy anāmayam)
 5 30 42^{cd} sarvathāiva asmadvakyaṭ (D₁ to asmadvak^o T₁G₁ hy asmad^o).
 5 31 15^b saumya aj na h 5 32 9^{ab} samjaya ajata-atrum
 5 34 49^{cd} rajendra api (D₁ h₁ api)
 5 47 30^{cd} māsanya asau (K₂D₃ TG h₁ asau D₁₀ apy asau)
 5 43 12^{ab} tapas ca amatsaryam (D₂ nirṇa tsaryam)
 5 43 24^{ab} vedas ca anṛcas ca [K₁B (except B₃) Dn D₁ 6 api anṛcaḥ G₂ hy anyataḥ G₃ hy anṛcaḥ],
 5 43 34^d brahmasya antarātman vai sr tam [K₁ paramatman n hrutam Ds D₈ 10 T₂ G₂ 3 (second time) Ca bahva (D₉ tama T₂ taddhya) nantaram apnuṣat G₁ (second time) bahvantaram avapnuṣat]
 5 44 18^{ab} iva atho
 5 44 19^{ab} iva atho
 5 47 44^{ab} yadavasya astre yogo (D₁ 2 astre yogah)
 5 50 31^{cd} praj al tasyeva api mucyeta (K₅ na vimucyeta D₂ nasmu^o)
 5 88 101^{ab} dharmasya an kṛtya (K₁ 2 sun kṛtya)
 5 139 12^{cd} govinda anṣtam vakṣum utashe [N (Dn₂ m ss ng) m thyakartum tadu (Dn₁ D₉ tamu D₃ 4 samu) tsah]
 5 139 39^{cd} kṛṣṇa asmin [N (K₅ om Dn₂ m ss ng) tasm n]
 5 560* 1 kaunteya akatthan (K₄Ds D₃ 4 7 10 sa katthan)
 (b) a and ā
 1 57 13^{ab} ca akase (T₂ h₁ ākāse G₆ vim nam)
 1 642* 2 ca avarta 1 669* 3 ca avarta
 1 805* 6 ca atmad nam 1 1092* tatra asramasthas ca
 1 1137* tatra anayya
 1 112 14^{cd}odaya ajahara (N₁ sa juhava N₂ Dn D₁ 4 sa phara)
 1 114 56^{ab} ca ad tjab
 1 1324* asya a ramasya sam patah (D₄ hy āsramasya mah pate)
 1 128 1^{cd} nam n ya utaryartham ecodayat (T₁ G₁₋₄ ecodayamasa vai guruh)
 1 141 14^{ab} yac ca atm nam (Ś₁ K₀ 1 N₂ 3 V₁ B₃ Dn D₁ T₁ apj ātmanam)
 1 1615* 3 divya^{cd}ardula atma 1 759* 2 ca atuliyam
 3 46 10^b ca c-ryah
 3 73 12^{cd} sam daya av dī ya (Ś₁ samddhegnau K₁ sam ddhegnau K₂D₅ sam dhyan tam K₃ sanuddhe tam K₄ sopadhmātum B₁ 2 4 Dn D₄ 6 savitus tam B₃ Dc sanudhe tam D₁ 2 samrddhyartham G₁ h₁ ā dhya)
 3 81 21^{cd} ramena ahṛte (K₂Dn hṛtam tat su^o Dc prakṛte va D₃ kṛtam tat su^o)
 3 93 14^{cd} ayajanta ar ena
 3 97 2^b asura reṣṭha at thyam [K₁ 2 4 B D (except D₂ 3 5) T₂ G₃ tv āt thyam)
 3 134 3^b prabodhaya as viṣama 3 663* 3 maharaja a ramah
 3 148 9^{ab} tam cakṣva acaram (Ś₁ K₁ 2 tv acāram)
 3 750* c dya anay mi tavantīlam (Dc p rsvayor anayami te)
 3 155 49^{cd} ca va acit ni (Ś₁ K₁ 2 D₁ 3 sv citani B₁ Dc abhi^o)
 3 297 74^b kim c ca anṛ amsyam 4 147* 1 puruṣavy ghra ayudhanu
 4 53 6^{ab} satyam ca anṛ amsyam atharjavam [D₇ orig damanṛamsyam eva ca S tejo mardavam arjavam (M₁ 2 m rdavam hr r acopalam)]

5 30 38^{cd} ca anṛśamsyat [K₁ 3 B (B₁ m ssing) Dn Ds D₂ 7 10 T₁ G₁ 2 yan anṛśamsyo
(K₁ B₃ Ds D₂₋₆ 0 T₁ °syad G₂ °syan) D₉ ya anṛśamsyad T₂ hy anṛśamsyān G₅ M
apy anṛśamsyad (M₄ °syan)] 5 38 2^{ab} abhyagat ya an ya

5 51 5^{ab} ca acaryaḥ

5 388* 6 dhaumyaś ca aṇ maṇḍavyakau kau

5 83 1^{ab} samajñaya ayanānta (K₄ B Dn D₂₋₆ 9 10 prayantam Ds D₁ 8 pray tam M₂ 4
cāyāntam)

5 92 33^{cd} ca asan [K (K₃ missing) B Dn Ds D₁ 5-8 10 apJ asan (K₂ as t) D₂ hy asan]

5 423* 3 rajendra adaram

5 125 4^{ab} ca acaryo [K₁ 2 3 B (except) B₃] DnDsD₆ 8 10 py acaryo M hy acaryau]

(c) a and a

1 151* 1 tatha asvatthamna

1 33 22^{ab} va apare [Ś₁ K₁ 2 (sup 1 n) T G₂ 6 M (except M₁) apy apa e K₂ (before
corr) 4 G₄ 5 tu apare G₁ pare]

1 41 20^{cd} dṛṣṭva asmakam (Ś₁ K₁ N₃ Da Dn n₃ D 4 6 7 T asmakam G₃ M 5
cāsmakam the rest hy asma°)

1 59 12^{ab} kala anayuh [N (except K₂ 4 B₅ Ś m ss ng) danayuh]

1 602* 6 kṛtvā antardv pe 1 804* 2 kanya anapatya

1 92 32^{cd} amṛta abhyagacchad an ndita (Ś₁ K₀₋₂ N₂ V B 3 6 Da Dn D₄ thabhya°
K₃ sabhya° N 3 thabhyanandada° B₅ sasma asu sumadhyama D₁ yathabhyagaman n°
D₅ a bhyananded°) 1 1082* 1 m ta apyatra

1 103 5^{ab} kanyā anurūpa (Ś₁ K₁ sanu° K₀ tu anu° K₂₋₄ N B Da Dn D 4 T G₂ 4 5
M₃ a anu° D₂ G₁ 3 6 M₃ 6 8 hy anu° D₅ svanu°)

1 107 19^{ab} aṣṭha abhavaś chatadha tada jñ (K₃ Om) babhūva śatadha (B Da D₂ 4
bahudha) S (T₂ Om) hy abhavaś (M₃ by transpos t on śatadha hy abhavaś]

3 2 36^{ab} tṛṣṇa antardehagata (Ś Dc D 3 hy a°)

3 2 36^{cd} sambhuta ayoṇ ja (D₁ 2 lauham raja)

3 81 87^{ab} anatva arcayitva (BD₄ 6 S (T₁ Om) samabhyarcya D₃ pu ay tva]

3 81 89^{ab} anatva ama eṣu (Ś₁ hy ama eṣu)

3 81 94^d snatva agn ytomaphalam (T₂ G 4 hy agn ytomaphalam°)

3 81 114^{cd} anatva arcayisyant ye tu mam [S yo mam arcayita dvija (T₁ °yate narah G
M °yate dvija)

3 81 139^f sarvapapa śuddhatma agn y tomaphalam

3 81 154^{ab} anatva arcayitva

3 82 68^{cd} snatva arcayitva (B₂ G₂ hy arca°)

3 82 69^{ab} gatva arcayitva (Ś₁ K₁ Dc₂ D₃ devama arcya K₄ D₁ 2 pu ay tve G hy arca°)

3 82 111^{ab} gatva arcayitva (G₂ hy arca° M₂ samabhyarcya)

3 83 33^{cd} snatva avamedhasphalam (Ś₁ to avamedha° K₄ G₁ va medha° B D₄
gosahara° D₃ T₂ G₂ 3 hayamedha° T vinded bahu suvamaalam

3 146 70^{cd} avavapusa arcismanantam (Ś₁ K₂ B Dn D₄ 6 T G₃ 4 M svarṣ smanantam K₁ 3 4
Dc D₁ 3 5 murtimantam G ra m mantam G₂ to a c smanantam)

4 23 16^{cd} śrutva anṛṇa (B D₁ 12 S hy anṛṇa D₄ janadya D₆ 0 tu anṛṇa) 4 833* 1 tva
astiraś am

5 31 3^{cd} mantrayitva anyonyena (D₁ to anyo° D₉ hy anyo°)

5 93 60^{ab} manvana artham (K₄ B Dn Ds D₃ 5 6 8 10 apy a tham D₂ 4 9 hy artham
T G₂ svartham G₁ 3 4 M₁ to a tham

5 193 60^{ab} kanya amba

(d) a and a

1 1635* 1 dr̥ṣṭva apurvavadanam (D₅ hy āpūrṇa° T₁ G₃ sampurṇa°)

1 1915* yodhayitva agantarah 1 2070* 2 yukta as bhūh

3 53 19^{ab} bala ayantu 3 160 24^{cd} vitamaskarma adityo

3 290 7^{ab} tadś ajuhava [h₄ BDc Dn D₂ 4 6 hy āpū° S (except G₃) saju°]

4 36 4^{ef} gatva āsas da (D₂ 3 8 vyasasda)

5 40 9^{ab} v ṇa adarṇo 5 73 19^{cd} vatavegaprasalita aṣṭh la

5 88 90^{cd} duhita ajam dhakulam

(e) i and i

1 209 11^{ab} t rthani itab [K₃ N₁ 2 B (except B₅) D^M tatāb],

3 229* 2 caṇi indrasenam 3 190 80^{cd} rajaputni ikṣvakurayam

4 3 16^{cd} y nti itī (D₁ 2 tv itī D₃ kṛta) 4 170* 20 badhn hi idam

4 491* 7 sairandhri iha 4 852* 1 puragam itih sam

5 42 29^{ef} munayisyanti itī (h₅ D₅ G₃ 4 eva D₈ 10 evam,

(f) i and i

5 189 7^{cd} bhavi ita

5 194 10^{cd} mayavi ity etaddharmam cayaḥ (K₁ 2 evam dharme sum citam K₄ hy etaddharmam darśanam K₅ hy etaddharmam cayaḥ D₄ ity etad dharmeṣu nī citam)

(g) u and u

1 45 13^{ab} kuruzu uttarayam [Ś₁ cottarāyām K₃ N₁ 2 V₁ B (B₂ missing) D sotta° T hy ulla°] 3 294 20^{ab} tu upasamgama

B (a) -a and i

1 57 54^{cd} dasaya itam tava bhavatv itī (V₁ B₆ Dn D₁ 4 kanyeyam te T₁ G₃ 6 suteyam te)

1 752* tasya itī 1 1424* 4 angaraṇasya itī vacyaḥ dvijastbh h [D₄ G₂ 4 5 °sya dvijastbhur itī (G₄ 5 °bh rathe) ritāb]

1 137 3^{cd} vinasaya ity evam [Ś₁ K₂ 4 NV₁ B (B₅ marg) D (except D₅) T₁ M °āyety evam te (Ś₁ ca K₄ tat)]

1 167 17^d rakṣasogreṇa iṣṣattum

1 2155* mandapalasya itī

3 81 16^{cd} tena iṣṭam bhavati śasvatam [Ś₁ h₂₋₄ Dc Dn D₁ 2 5 tene (K₂ 4 Dn tatne) itam śasvatam bhavet S phalam preproti mnavab] 3 154 17^{ab} avyñāya idam

3 186 95^{cd} ca ir m m [Ś₁ h₁ 2 M₁ kavī (h₂ °ya) m m ca K₃ 4 D₃ kapśam (K₃ °asm) ca D₅ T₂ (by corr) G₃ kapśam ca T₁ G₁ kala (G₁ °h) m m ca T₂ (before corr) G₂ 4 kama¹ m ca] 3 973* tata ikṣvakur

3 199 5^{cd} lokasya ity api 3 199 9^{ab} ca ity api

3 241 24^{cd} sam nāyā idam vacanam abrav t [K₁ tv idam B₁ 3 D (except D₁₋₃ 5) G₃ vacanam cedam abrav t]

4 378* 6 ca indra atra n 4 746* 4 atha idam

5 11 20^{ab} athovaca indrāp m [N (except D₁ 2 8 D₅ m as in text) fakṣapim] 5 30 6^{ab} duta ih gacched

5 42 29^{ab} m nayanā ita munyeta m n tab (h₁ 4 D₁ 6 m n m Ca p₁ m Ca anu-)

5 414* 1 ca indriy o m (D₅ kṣatriy o m)

5 141 42^{cd} praveksy ma itī

(b) ā and i

1 223 10^{cd} parirakṣ dya id tab

3 196 16^{cd} ca ihante [N p hante (B₄ labhante)]

(c) ā and i

1 402* 10 raja ity evam 1 77 9^{cd} dharm tma syan me (S y 3 n me)

1 1551* dharm tma idam 3 297 72^{ab} raja itī

4 466* 2 tada idam

1 C-1 Bk 1 67-6a

- 5.12.31^{ab} kṛtvā indrāṇī [K (except K₂) D₁·3·4·9·10 śakrāṇī];
 (d) -a and -u.
 1 2.90^{cd} tatra upākhyānam [K₀₋₂ B₄ D₂·14 tadvadupā°, K₄ V₁ B₁·3 Da Dn Dr D₁·3-5·13 tadvadakhyanam; D₆·7·9-12 catadakhyanam; D₈ caiva tada°, T₂ G₆ M (except M₁) hy upā°; G₃ tatrāpy upā°];
 1.210*.1 cintayāmāsa upādhyāyā; 1.36.5^{cd} āmantrya upapañnam;
 1.1095*.2 dvijaśreṣṭha ugre; 1.111.29^{ab} ca upagacchet.
 1.1673*.3 tasya upasargās; 1.155 31^{ab} narendrasya upayājo;
 1.177.17^{ab} caiva uddhavaś ca;
 1.183.3^{cd} ca upopaviṣṭān [N (Dn₁ om) cāpy upopā°];
 1.2009*.3 kaṭakṣepa upasundam; 1 206 13^{cd} maharāja ulupya.
 1.206 18^{cd} pārtha ulūpī,
 3 29 3^{ab} tata utāho teja ity uta (Ś₁ K₃ catra me sam-ayo mahān, S tejo vā sūtrasattama),
 3 489*.7 svakarāgreṇa udaram,
 3 129 9^{ab} prāsya uṣitvā;
 3.132 20^{cd} sametya utsāryamāno (N protsa°);
 3.178 25^{ab} tīta utpāterā, 3 192.8^{ab} tata uttanka,
 3 296 1^{cd} atra ubhayoh (T₂ G₂·4 M hy ubhayoh),
 4 623*.11 tadagamya uttarayā, 4 789* tena upāyad,
 4.799* 5 ca utarjante; 5 14 5^{cd} atikramya uttaram,
 5 29 4^{cd} pāṇḍavasya utāhinah. 5 30 7^{ab} eva upātīṣṭhethā,
 5 32.3^{ab} dvaṣṭha upāgatam (K₂·3 3 D₉ samāgatam°, G₂ didṛkṣyā dvāram upāgatas te);
 5.35.8^{ab} pratikṣāva upasthāne (T₁ G₃·4 M tvadantḥ me, G₁ tvadharmā me, G₅ svār-
 thāmeha);
 5.89 9^{ab} ca upahṛtya (K₁·4 B Dn Ds D₅₋₈·10 apy udakam ca);
 (e) -a and -ū.
 1.114.44^{ab} ca ūrṇāyur (S pūrṇāyur);
 1.143.19^{cd} upādaya ūrdhvam [N (except K₄) sordhvam];
 4.1175* 2 upaplāvyā ūsuh;
 (f) -ā and -u
 1.9 11^{cd} śṛṅgararūpabharanā uttiṣṭhatu (K₂₋₄ Ñ V₁ B Da D₂₋₇ G₄·5 prottiṣṭhatu; T M₁ colli°; G₁·6 sotti°);
 1 99.39^{cd} avratopetā upeyāt (Ś₁ K₁ hy upeyāt);
 1.1159*.1 bhāryā ubhau;
 3 81.134^{ab} vā upavāseṇa (Ś₁ K₁·2 B Dc Dn D₁·3-6 py upavāseṇa, D₂ ty upa°; T₂ G₁·3·4 M₂ hy upa°, K₂ Dn D₅ py uta vāseṇa).
 3 82.39^{ab} gatvā upasptīya [Ś₁ K₁·2 B D (except D₂, D₃ missing) samupa°],
 4.625*.1 saṁrandhrasahitā uttarā (G₁·3 sahottarā);
 5 45 3^{cd} vāsānā ubhe.
 (g) -ā and -ū.
 1.1606*.2 kanyā ūdhā;
 C (a) -a and -e
 1.1020* ca ekabhāvāv iva;
 1.166 3^{cd} ca ekāyanagetaḥ (Ś₁ K apy ekāyana°);
 1 209 20^{cd} vira etiḥ.
 3.81.159^{ab} samśāldya ekaratroṣito (K₄ Dc tv ekā°).
 3.138.14^{cd} anuprāpya eṣa,
 4.316*.2 yantriṣaṣṭīfatāsyā ekāmāṁ;

- 3.189.10^{ab} sarvabhīṇi upyamīnīni [K₁·2 tapya^o; B Dn D₄·6 ropyamīnīni; T₂ G śudhya^o (C₁ vardha^o)];
- 4.27.6^{cd} arhanti udvahantaḥ (S₁ K *codvahantaḥ*, D₄ prādva^o; D₁₀ hy udvahantaḥ);
- (f) -i and -u.
- 1.2029*·2 sādhvī ulōpī;
- (g) -i and -e.
- 1.781* nāsti ekāntaratamaḥ;
- 3.163 27^{ab} śarīrāni ekābhūtāni (S₁ K₁·2 cakṛi^a, M tv ekī^o).
- 3.198.72^{cd} adharmeti etac,
- (h) -i and -e.
- 5.12.8^{ab} davi etad (K₄ yat tad, K₅ T₁ C₁·5 hy etad).
- (i) -i and -ai.
- 5.56.41^{cd} āvārayasyanti aigeyān (K₁·5 harṇān),
- (j) -u and -a
- 3.149.46^{ab} dharmakāryesu arthakāryesu,
- 4.398* 12 cāsmāsu anunitā;
- 5 29 49^{cd} jātu anāśritya (K₁·2 tv anāśritya, K₅ hy anāśritya),
- (k) -u and -ā
- 3.192 8^{cd} ramyesu āśramas, 5 45 22^{ab} sarvabhuteṣu ātmānam,
- 5.47.103^{cd} astu śyusmantah, 5 423*·4 tu ādaram,
- (l) -u and -i.
- 3.937* tu icchayā;
- (m) -u and -e.
- 4.836* tu eko.
- E (a) -e and -a¹³,
- 1.20.11^{cd} ahīnakurte anāgatam (N₁·2 V₁ B D T₁ C₆ M₄ hy anāgataḥ),
- 1.551* te amalām; 1.110.13^{cd} labhe alabhe (C₄ labhe);
- 1.110 20^{ab} mārge avīryakṣapocite (S₁ K (K₁ om) D₅ svavīryasatatoctah (S₁ aḍyātaḥ; K₃ °cite); N B Da D₂ svavīrya (D₂ rye) kr^o; Dn D₁·4 svavīryakṣayaocite, S nirvīryak^o);
- 1.1184* prajilabhe anvagacchae,
- 1.1970* te anyonyasahitas;
- 3.61.123^{cd} kaste amanuṣyanisevite (All except T₂ C₃·4 M₁ hy amanu^o).
- 3.80.119^{ab} camasodbhede agniśomaphalam D₃ cāgniśomaphalam (marg. sec. m. vāḍipeya^o); S gosahasra^o);
- 3.477*·1 devayajane akṣayam;
- 3.132.15^{cd} mene aśīvakro (BD (except D₁·3) tatśāśā^o);
- 3 242.1^{ab} sarve amatyapraravāś ca (T₁ M tematyapraravā (M₁ °mukhā) °ca ha. T₂ C₁·2·4 kṛtam ūcur na (C₁ rdham na) rādhipam);
- 4 163*·9 samare adhakār (T₁ nyadhākāḥ; T₂ vyadhā^o; C₃ hy adhā^o M₁·2 tv adhā^o);
- 4.325*·2 brūte amityāś ca;
- 4.26.8^{cd} te apāpās [B₁·3·5 Da D₉·11·12 durāpās, B₄ D₆ nīpāpās; D₁ tepāpās; D₂ te pārthās; D₅ tv apāpās, D₇ (m as m Text) svapāpās, D₁₀ hy apāpās; S raktyā nutryam ca (M₁·2 hi) daivataḥ];
- 4.1133*·2 cakre aranyam,
- 5.42.8^{ab} viplavante ato (D₁ D₈·9 ca tato).
- 5.119.25^{ab} sarve satyaphalabhāgīnaḥ (C₁ hy apatya^o);
- (b) -e and -ā,
- 1.7.8^{ab} sarve āpah (C₂·3 devāḥ);

¹³ When -e or -o at the end of a word or a grammatical form is followed by -a or a grammatical form is followed by -a, the letter merges into the former. In its place the marks is generally put.

- 1 463* 3 yajñant-^{est} kavacanam 1 497* loka śikhyatam
 1 57 31^{ab} indraprasade śāka
 1 576* 3 vardham n s te as'bh r (N V₁ B₄ 5^o manābh r as'bh)
 1 768* 2 arthe etmarthe 1 107 32^{cd} arthe etm rthe (S₁ K₁ svctm^o)
 1 152 19^b sarve ajamur (D₁ K₀ 1 hy ājagmur K₃ apy ājagmur T₂ G₁ 5 6 cāja^o G₃
 to ājagmur)
 1 1816* 2 virajante as m 3 28 11^{ab} sabh madhye asanam
 3 148 34^d vartante adhaya (M₁ dharmac^{ks} yate kram i)
 4 13 7^{ab} śubhe acakṣva (Dn₁ hy ācakṣva)
 5 37 16^d arthe atm rthe (G₄ hy ātmārthe)
 5 42 26^{ab} vitte aḍhya [T₁ G (except G₃) hy āḍhya]
 5 126 48^{cd} arthe atm rthe
 (c) -e and -i
 1 1 24^{cd} anye itih sam 1 496* kṛyate indriyāḥ
 1 76 14^b nṛpate imam 1 1069* 8 loka indraj d
 1 1808* 2 me ita 3 22 20^{cd} sarve ita
 3 37 12^{cd} samvreme ita 3 97 74^d apatre adhmavahas
 5 42 20^{ab} me ita 5 57 14^b nṛpate itiva
 (d) -e and -i
 4 120* 2 rājakule ipāeta (T₁ seveta)
 (e) -e and -u
 1 172 16^{cd} h mavatp r ve utsasaya
 3 127 8^{cd} am tyapāṣanmadhye upavāśh (C₁ K₁ hy upa^o)
 4 1077* 2 manye uttarāś
 (f) -e and -i
 1 1205* 1 varse itau 3 307* 1 prepte rtuparnasya
 3 360 3 prepte rtuparnasya
 3 83 73^{cd} upāsan e rājyaś ca (C₁ K₁ 2 M₁ munayaś ca)
 5 178 7^{cd} varade śabhe (K₄ D₁ 3 4 9 10 G₅ vrsabhe)
 5 151 11^d anuvartante rte
 (g) -e and -e
 1 1620* 1 śikhy^{asye} etad duḥkṣasya (G₁ 2 M₅ duḥkṣasyatasya M₃ duḥkṣasyaśasya
 M₆₋₈ duḥkṣasyaiv sya)
 4 44 9^{cd} te elena
 (h) -e and -ai
 1 89 55^{cd} anvavaye aśa an-avi ardhanāḥ
 (i) -o and -a¹³
 1 1800* 1 mahāśh to adhamāśh
 3 202* 1 vibho anā hem
 (j) -ai and -ai
 3.2.10 39^{ab} tasmā a rādhyaya [h 3 Dc D₂ T₂ tasmā anai^o D₁ M tasmad B D₁ D₅ 6
 G₃ hy aradhyā ai]
 4 50 9^{cd} vai aśa h mī maharāśh (D 7 9 surva astrabhāṣm varāḥ)
 5 88 15^{cd} vai aśaśa h [N (except h K₃ rāṣṭra K₃ om.) G₁ na tadurha]
 (k) -ai and -ai
 3 917 [i na śakya mahatya vai apas tartum rājyaś vinā (B₃ no ca śakyaś idam vān trayāś tartum
 mayā vinā)
 (l) -ai and -ai

1.152 16^{ab} tasmai idam [K₂·4 N₃ T₁ G (except G₂) tasmād];

3 200 22^{cd} vai iha siddhih (Dc dehasiddhih);

3.1386*.2 vai iti.

5 166.13^{cd} vai idam yuddham (D₁ yuddham eva, D₃·4 yuddham etad, D₁₀ dvandvauddham).

(m) -ai and -u

4.53* vai urvaśyā;

(n) -ai and -e

1 419* 2 vai eśa; 1.1399^z vai eśaśyām;

(o) -ai and -e

1.410*.1 vai rsi-vakyena;

(F (a) visarga and -a

4.280* 1 kāmārtah aboddhāni,

(b) visarga and -i

14.1472*.1 āyātah andrasya,

III. *Hiatus between words in a pāda*

A (a) -a and -a

199.15^d ca amitadyute [S₁ K N₃ cāpy amitadyute (K₂·4 tiḥ) N₁·2 B Dn D₂·4 capra-
timadyute (Dn D_{2m} tiḥ), Da vā pratipadyate, D₅ M₃ capya (M₃ caiva) maradyute
T G M₆-8 ca amitadyute].

5 44 17^e tena abhyeti [K₁·4 B (except B₂) Dn D₁-6 10 cābhye (D₂-4 pge) ti].

5 45 3^a āpo'tha adbhyaḥ [K₁·4 Ca s āpo nu adbhyaḥ, Ds D₁₀ T₁ G₅ apathadbhyaḥ,
D₂ apo vasanty aṭha, D₈ athāpodbhyaḥ, T₂ G₂·3 (by sandhu) āpothādbhyaḥ, G₁·4
āpothādbhiḥ];

5.45.9^b abhipatyā apakṣakāḥ [K₄ B (B₃ om) Dn Ds D₂-6 8-10 T₂ G (G₄ om) M₁
(inf lin. aa in text) ca hy apakṣa (Ds D₈-10 kṣa) kākā, D₁ T₁ tu pakṣikāḥ, Ca tu apakṣakāḥ].

5.45 20^a na sādhunā notā asādhunā vā [Dn (first time) Ds D₈-10 T G M₁ Cs asādha (G₄
°dhu) nā vāpi sasādha (G₄ °dhu) nā vā];

5.139.5^b eva anyad (K₃ T₂ G₂·5 M₄ 'pyana°, K₄ D₈ tu ana° D₆ svāna°; G₃ hy
ana°; M₂·3·5 'pyānagat).

5 160.9^c tathety āha arjunah [K₁·3·5 ratheti tvāhārjunah, K₄ B Dn₁ Ds D₃·6·8·10
tathety uvācā°; D₂ T₂ G₃·5 M₁-3·5 tathe (G₃ °de) ti tvāhā°; D₇ tathety āha tvām
arjunah; T₁ G₁·2 (catalectic i) tathety āhārjunah, M₂ (hypermetrich tatheti gatvāha°)];

(b) -a and -ā

1.595*.2 tena ātmāpaharakah, 1.146 9^b na āpadah;

3.81.41^a śankhinim tatra āśādyā (D₁-2 M tata, T₂ G₂ cāśādyā, S₁ śankhinim tvam
samāśādyā, K₁ B Dc D₃·4·6 T₁ śankhinuturtham āśādyā);

3.134 25^b iha āyānti (S₁ iha yānti; K₁·2·4 D₁ ihāyānti, B₁·3 Dc Dn D₄-6 ima āyānti,
B₂·4 M imam āyānti; D₅ ihāyāntu); 3222.7^a mama ācakṣa (S₁ K₁·2 samācakṣa ca; K₃·4
D₁-3·5 M mamāpy ācakṣa; B Dn D₄·6 Cy 3 mamādyā°, Dc tan mamā°);

5 26.13^a mīnaghnaśya ātmakāśasya [K₁-3 D₁·8 sanmīnaghnaśyātma (K₂ D₁ °nta)
kāśasya; K₄·5 D₂ ed managhna-K₄ °sta) āyātmaśāśasya; B Dn Ds D₃-7 ma (D₆ samnā)
naghnaśyāśau mīnakāśasya, D₉ mīnāntiśāśyātmaśāśasya, D₁₀ Ca s mīnaghnaśya mīnakāśasya;
T G₁·3·5 mīnaghnaśyāpyārtha—(T₂ °natha—; G₃ °pyātma) kāśasya, G₂ santānaghnaśyā-
tmakāśasya; G₄ mīnāśasyāpy anyakāśasya; M mīnātmānāś cūmakāśya (M₁ °ma) śya];

5 246*.7 neha āyāti (T¹ jānāti; G₄ jāti);

5.525* maitrāvaruṇe āgnidhrau;

5 31 22^b pasyema ita 5 140 16^a karna ita

(b) *a* and *i*

1 3 95 bhavata iccham sām 1 33 25^d daka na ita

1 142 7^b agata ita (Ś₁ K N₁ V₁ B₅ 6 Dn D₁ 5 T₁ to ha N₂ B₁ 3 Da D₂ 4
°tasm ha)

3 3 5^d svap ta iva (Ś₁ K₃ B₄ Dc D₂ 5 svap ta a h (B₄ D₅ he) K₂[°] B₁ 3 Dn D₄ 6
svap ta yatha]

3 61 20^b pr ya ty abrav s tādā (Ś₁ K₁ 3 4 B Dc 4 6 pr yoty asakrd abrav h (K₃ 4 Dc
D₁ brav t K₂ Dn D₂ 3 5 pr yast ty abrav h sādā (D₂ °ty asakrd vadan D₃ °ty asakrd
bruvan)]

3 192 7^a sa raja iksvakuh (K₁ 3 Dc D₅ raja sa iksvakuh)

4 223^a 3 devata iva 5 74 14^b aucyā iva nagha

5 140 4^b samucchrita ndraketuprakāsa (K₁ 5 D₉ candraketu° K₂ 3 cend aketu° D₂
candrakalpa° G₃ hendraketu° G₃ h nd aketu° M₁ 2 4 sendraketu°)

(c) *a* and *u*

1 194^a aha upadhyayaḥ 1 3 96 uttanka uṣyatam

1 3 163 pravṛtya upādhyāyinaḥ 1 1674^a 6 pancarya up smahe

1 205 22^a brahmanasya upahṛtya (Ś K₂ N D 2 G₁ 4 (by corr) °nasvam upa° Ko
B₁ 3 °nasvam upavṛtya K₁ °nasvam upādya K₃ 4 B₅ 6 °nasvam upavṛtya N₂ Dn D₄
°nam samupakṛtya N₃ °nasvam avamādya V Da °nasvam upakṛtya D₅ °nam samu
pavṛtya]

3 83 38^b maharaja upaspr et 4 881^a 3 da a uṣya

(d) *a* and *u*

1 2 150^a rajna ulukasya presanam (K₁ rajna ulu° K₄ V₁ B (except B₄) D (except D₁ 4)
rajna hy ulu° TG₂ 3 M hy ulukas tu preṣ tah G₇ hy ulukas tu prahutah]

1 3 112 k atr ya uccuṣṭena

1 124^a 1 tādā uttaraphalgunyam (G₁ 2 4 cotta a° M₃ 5 tulta a°)

1 157 13^a tvaya uktaḥ (Ś₁ ko 2 3 (sup 1 n) 4 tvayāsmi uktaḥ K₁ °sty uktaḥ K₃ N
V₁ B D T G₁ 4 tvaya hy uktaḥ (Da T₂ °bhyuktaḥ) G₂ 3 6 M °py uktaḥ G₃ suktah]

1 189 46^a tvaya uktaḥ (Ś₁ ko M tvayāsmi uktaḥ K₁ 3 4 tvayāsmi uktaḥ K₂
tvaya vaktah N₁ t aya hy uktaḥ V₁ tvaya proktaḥ N₂ 3 ED tvayoktoham TG tvaya
coktaḥ)

3 297 41^b p ta uccataras ca khat (T₁ G M hy ucca° K B Dc Dn D₂ 4 6 G₃ khat
p toccata as tatha (K₁ 2 4 °rab smṛtaḥ K₃ ras tath)]

C (a) *a* and *e*

1 141 2^a huḍ mba eta r va (Ś₁ hy eta r va K₄ tath sarvaḥ)

5 26 7^c avadhuya eṣa

(b) *-a* and *e*

1 59 25^a is pa ekacakraḥ ca

1 90 79 hatva ekacakraḥ

D (a) *i* and *ā*

1 98 8 antarvān aham (Ś₁ K₁ 7 °r atn ty aham ko 4 N₂ B D to ālam N °rvartny
aham S °rvatny asmi te]

1 114 50^d m śrake alambusā (Ś₁ K₂₋₄ hy alambusā ko T G₄ 6 M to alambusā K₁ hy
alambusā N (except N₃) B D (except D₃) G₂ to alambusā]

(b) *i* and *-ā*

1 110 28^a yadā tvam (S₁ Ko₂₋₄ D₅ hy āvām, K₅ B₁ 6 Da₂ D₁ 2 4 G₅ 6 āvām.
 N B₅ Dn T₁ G₃ M cāvām, B₃ tv āvām, T₂ G₁ 2 4 ca tvam),

(c) -u and -a

3 1193^a I tu amī,

(d) -u and -ī

5 45 7^b madhu śantas tada [D₁ juśantaḥ, K₁ D₂ madhv ścchantasḥ B₁ 2 3 5 Dn D₅ 6
 M₁ (inf lin) madhv iksan (D₅ °chan) tas ca te (B₁ 2 5 °tas tada) tasyeh B₄ madhv iksantas
 tada, Ds D₈₋₁₀ G₅ madhu isate tad aṇu vidhāyinas tada D₃ 4 M₅ madhv śśantas tadā,
 D₇ T₁ G₁₋₄ Śś madhv isate sada (T₁ G₃ tatha, G₁ 4 Cs tada)]

E (a) -e and -a

1 3 72 utsahe anivedya gurava iti,

1 3 126 me asucy annam

1 3 147 tantre adhiropya (M₁ cādhiropya),

1 41 8^d garte asminn (Ś₁ K₁ N₃ TG₂ 4 5 brahmann ko 2 4 sarvepya°, N₁ 2 V₁
 B D vyaktamā° G₁ 6 M hy asminn, G₃ tasminn)

1 90 14 jajñe ahampatiḥ (T₁ sampatir noma),

1 90 17 jajñe arācnaḥ (N₁ 3 sura°),

1 90 19 jajñe ayutanāyī 1 90 20 jajñe akrodhanah

1 90 38 jajñe śjamaḍhaḥ,

1 90 42 jajñe arugvan nāma (N₂ subhago),

1 90 43 upajeme amṛtam,

1 119 11^a tathey ukte ambikayā [Ko G₃ 4 M₆₋₈ -ty ambika (G₃ M₇ °ka) yā, K₂ 3
 N₂ 3 B₅ Dn₁ n₂ D₁ T₂ G₆ M₃ 5 tv ambī° K₄ N₁ Dn₃ D₅ T₁ tv ambikāyā, B₆ D₄
 ambī°, D₂ cāmbikēyā, G₁ śmbikēyam, G₂ tv ambikāya, K₁ tv abhikaya, B₁ 3 sa tathety
 ukambikaya].

1 207 17^b kule asmin (S₁ kulepy asmin, Ko 2 4 N₁ hy asmin, K₁ M₃ tasmin, K₂
 N₂ 3 V₁ B D T G M₃ 6-8 lesmin sam).

1 214 9^a dharmaraje atipr tyā (Ś₁ Ko 3 4 N V₁ BD hy ati° (Da dyuti°), K₁ tv ati°, K₂
 G₁ 2 M hy abhi°, T₁ prajāḥ pr tēḥ, T₃ G₃₋₆ py abhi°).

3 36 19^b ksatre ajayathah [Ś₁ K₁ 3 4 Dc D₂ 5 ksatreṇvaja°, K₂ B Dn ksatreṇvaja° (B₂
 ksatre tv ajā°), D₄ tu jayathah, D₆ nu jayathah TG₃ 1y ajā° G₁ 2 4 M₂ vyaja°, M₁
 ksatrebhyaja°].

3 206 16^d yuyante alpabuddhajah (Ś₁ K₁ 2 4 Dc Dn₃ D₁₋₃ yelpa°, K₃ D₅ hy alpa°,
 B Dn₁ n₂ D₄ 6 G₃ cālpa° T₁ G₁ 2 4 M svalpa°, T₂ bahvabū°)

5 25 5^c kule anṛamsa [K₄ tv anṛamsā, B D (except D₁ 2) S hy anṛ°].

5 195 19^d trāilokyotsādane api (K₁ 2 trāilokyadahanēsv api, K₄ 5 B₃₋₅ Dn₁ D₁ 3 4 8
 G₂ M₄ °tsādaneḥ ca, B₂ T G₁ M₁ 3 5 °ts daneṣv api, D₂ G₃ 5 hy api, D₁₀ prabho)

(b) -e and -ā

1 94 38^d mene atmānam [S₁ K₁ hy ātmā° Ko 2-4 N₂ 3 V₁ B D (except D₅) sotmā°
 S cātma°, N₁ manasātmanam eva vā].

1 100 2^d msithe egamasyati [N T₁ hyā (D₂ dya) gamu°, T₂ G₂ 4 5 samupe°, G₁ °theḥpy
 āgo°, G₃ M₃ (sup lin), 6-8 °thebhyāgo°, G₆ M₃ (ong) 5 masyam egamū°]

1 109 18^b vīgarhe atmāranāt [Ś₁ K₁ 3 4 T₂ M₃ 5 tv ātmā°, Ko 2 natmā°, N₁ 2
 Da Dn D₁ 4 5 cātma°, N₃ tvama°, T₁ G M₆₋₈ tvām āla (G₅ °dha) rmarā].

4 35 22^c brhannaḍe ānayetha,

(c) -e and -i

1 67 5^b me ita āramāt [Ko 2-4 N₃ me sa ihā (N₃ to) aramāt, K₁ D₂ me sa (D₂ mama)
 tapodhanah, S (G₃ om) mama (M₃ 5 me sa) mah tapāḥ (T₁ °yāsoḥ)].

- 1 90 56 ucchidyate iti 3 13 47^c te ime (Ś₁ K₃ D₁ 3 trayo)
 5 184 6^d prabhātasamaye iva (K₁ 2 5 yathā B₃ Dn Ds D₁ 2 6 8 10 tadā D₃ G₃ nrpa
 T G₁ 2 mama)
 (d) e and u
 1 57 20^b kriyate ucchrayo [M₃ 6 8 ucchrayaḥ kriyate K₁ N₁ 2 V₁ Dn D₁ 3 5 Cd
 tyucchrayo K₂ 4 B₃ Da D₄ bhyucchrayo D₂ hy utsavo T G kurvanty etc dhvajocchra
 yam (G₃ °jotsavam)]
 3 40* pa ṭhigotre utpanno
 4 25 2^c sarve ud'ksadhvam (K B₁ 3 Dn D₃ 11 12 T₂ Cc n rikṣadhvam B₄ 5 D₁ 2 4 7^m 8
 h_J ud'ksadhvam D₆ bhyud'ksadhvam D₇ vin'ksadhvam D₁₀ prat'ksadhvam T₁ G M
 parikṣadhvam)
 (e) e and r
 1 3 89 te rtumat 1 3 173 te rtavaḥ
 1 4 1 antre rsn abhyagatan upasthe [M₅ satre vartamānebhyaḥ (sthe) paurāṇika rsn
 upa°)
 1 47 10^a tatas te rtv jaś [N V₁ B₁ 3 M (except M₁ 3) tatas ta rtv^o M₁ 5 carto jah)]
 1 48 4 ye rtv jaś sadasyas ca (G₂ rtv jaś ca sadā°)
 1 57 58^b parāvare rsn sth tan (K₁ vanam r° K₂ parāvaram r° K₃ N₃ B D₁ 2 5 varam
 r° h₄° varan r° N₁ 2 V₁ Da Dn D₃ 4 T M₆₋₈ parāvare sthūtan rsn)
 1 90 22 jāne tcaḥ (Ko cirah K₂ 4 B₄ rcaḥ N₁ 2 Dn D₁ r ho nama (D₁ namataḥ)
 B₁ rihah B₃ v mdhah D₅ ksatih) 1 1049* 1 pare rsn
 3 83 105^a etc. rś varah (M₁ py rśt°)
 3 111 8^d kriyate rśyāsrngeḥ (B Dc Dn D₄ 6 carśya° D₃ 5 va yathavat T₁ G₁ 4 M
 carśya°) 3 552* samāyate rśyāsrnge
 3 134 12^b ime rtavaḥ (B₃ dhātavaḥ)
 5 109 12^a te rśyah (K₂ te munayah T₁ G₁ 2 devarsayah)
 (f) a and i
 1 51 8^d atho indrah [Ko G₃ M₁ 3 5 athatrendrah K₂ atham cendrah K₃ tatas tv indrah
 K₄ B (B₂ m ss ng) Da Dn₁ n₂ D₂ 4 6 7 T₂ G₄₋₆ atha (B₃ 4 T₂ yatha Dn₂ atho)
 marendrah N₁ 2 V₁ Dn₃ D₁ 5 G₂ atho (G₂ yathā) mahendrah N₃ G₁ yatha tv indrah
 T₁ yatha cendrah M₂ 4 atha tv indrah]
 (g) ai and a
 5 42 5^a vai asuraḥ
 (h) ai and u
 1 668* 6 sa va uttamapurusaḥ (T₂ sa tu va puruṣottamaḥ M₅ sa evottama°)
 4 616* 2 vai us ta
 (i) ai and e
 3 114 6^c vai rśayo (Ś₁ K B₁ D₃ 5 davarśayo T₁ G₁ M caivarśayo G₂ 4 evarśayo)

IV In visarga sandhi hiatus after conversan to o

A. Between two pādas

- 1 48 6^{cd} abhavaḥ cārṇgaravo adhvaryur [Ś₁ Kc₂ 4 dhvaryur K₃ N V₁ M₁ 2 4 5
 thadhvaryur D₂ hy adhvaryur T G₃ 4 6 M₃ hya (G₄ thā) dhvaryur]
 1 76 35^{cd} hr̥ṣṭo amūjato (h D₃ 5 somu° N₁ 2 B₃ 4 6 Dn nūjatotha B₁ Da D₂ 4
 amanu° B₅ sama°, G₁ 2 h_J amu°, G₃ py amu°)
 1 158 50^{ab} vajino avadhya (Ś₁ Ko hy avadhya S manojna)
 3 80 73^{cd} rautdevābhyānujato agnīṣṭomaphalam (B₄ tv agnī°, D₃ h_J agnī°),

V *Hiatus in a compound*

- 1 16 35^d narayanaurogatah (Ko 2 4 D₅ °vibhusanam K₁ °irogatah N₃ G₂ 5 M₃ °ropagah B₄ °managatah D₂ °romantah T G₆ sa ca nrojanam gatah)
 1 2033^a 3 dvijaraja's nam.a¹⁴
 3 93^a 3 suras m anavarcitam
 3 40 54^b cakshu purata's r bhavan [K₂ d vyany astrant ya r bhavan K₄ pūrvavibhavanam
 S (T₂ G₃ 4 om) pūrvam mun r bhavan]
 3 148 13^a samayajugṛ arnah

VI *a treated as a*A *When it follows -e*

- 1 41 5^d garte rtams tranam [Ś₁ K₁ tantra° Ko 2 4 tams tra° N₁ 2 V₁ B₃ Dn D₅ T₂ G₂ 4-6 svatra° N₃ B₁ 2 4 5 Da D₃ 4 6 7 °rtesu tra° D₁ sva aranam D₂ artan svatra°
 G₁ M (M₂ 4 om) °riesm ms tra° G₃ samtra°]
 1 53 18^c te st ke (D₃ 5 7 te east ke)
 1 68 64 amale tmanam
 1 70 41^d sthasyami te jñaya [T G (except G₆) °m cahna jo]
 1 71 6^b vavr re ngrasam
 1 198 19^c manyate tmanam (Ś₁ hī s am N₁ V₁ rajan)
 3 113 5^d paryavarte śramaya
 3 158 58^d gaccha te jñam [N tat tava (D₅ °tova) jñam]
 3 178 38 bubudhe tmanam
 3 226 11^a nadriyante jña (Ś₁ K₁ 2 B₁ tvam T₁ M aman G₄ lsm n)
 3 252 9^b bhutaye tmanah [Ś₁ K₁ 2 B₄ D₃ (by corr) punah]
 5 103 19^a manyase tmanam 5 149 42^d manyate tmanam

B *In v sarga sandh*

- 1 71 22^b yauvana° mukhe [N₁ 2 BD (except D₅) °gocare (B₅ rah D₃ rah)
 T G₄₋₆ M₃ °g m mukhe G₁ 2 °ga mune M₅₋₈ °ge mukhe]
 1 168 21^c tasya rajño jñaya [Ko 1 N V₁ B D (except D₅) rajñas tasya ñaya S tasva raj
 notha sa (G₃ °sya rajñajñaya)]
 1 218 14^d jaladhore mucu kulān (Ś₁ K₁ 4 B Da Dn D₄ 5 °dhoresamakulān Ko 3 T₁
 G₁ 2 M₃ 5 °mucotulan K₂ D₁ bahun N V₁ °mucontarat D₂ °dharam tatotulan
 T₃ G₃ 4 °muculan M₆₋₈ °dhara mucoc van)
 3 97 6^c bhuktavsty asuro hvanam
 3 113 7^c bhavato śramaya (Ś₁ K₁ 2 B₁ D₃ 5 T₁ G₁ 2 4 M₂ bhavadaśramaya K₄
 Dn₃ °ab śramaya)
 3 175 2^a yo hvayad 3 197 44^c dvijo tm nam (Ś₁ K₂ B Dc Dn D₃ 4 6 T₁ sa svam
 atma° K₁ svasamis° K₄ D₂ 5 svayam atma°)
 3 198 1^c dvijo tm nam (Ś₁ K₁ 3 B₂ 3 Dc Dn D₃₋₆ G₃ sa sva (B₂ tva) m atma°
 K₄ D₁ 2 svayam atma°)
 3 267 40^b vrajato jñaya (T₁ maya G₁ yatha)
 4 21 20^c alamkara so tm nam [k D₂ 4 7 9 catmnam M svam deham B Dn D₅ 6
 8 10 1^a alam (D₆ evam) cakre tad tm nam T G alamkaram cakarasau]

¹⁴ Though the sandhi of *ε* after any vowel except the last four is optical, still the form is rarely found in literature.

- 5 110 20^b yo'' tm̃nam; 5.149 42^b so'' tm̃nam.
 5 164 6^b sambhrto'' śramavāsina
 5 166 5^b santo' tm̃abalasamstavam [K₄ B Dn Ds D₃ 4 6 8 10 santah svabalasamstavam
 D₂ T G M₁ (inf lin) santa atm̃abalastavam].

VII -a and -ā = a in a pada

1 17 23^c praveritam¹⁵ [T₁ G M₃ 5 pravepitam (G₆ °coditam), T₂ °vepitā (sup lin pracoditī)],

1 76 73^d nirmalyeva praveritā [T₂ G₂ 4 5 visarjita G₆ muktā M₃ pravāsita, M₈ praveṣitā, Ñ V₁ B D nirmalyam iva cophita (D₅ °hyeva pravārita), T₁ G₁ 3 °lyavad upakṣita],

5 173 5^d praverita (K₄ prabodhita, K₅ B₁ 2 5 Ds D₇ 10 S praveṣita, B₃ 4 pracodita, D₂₋₄ pracānta),

VIII Double crisis when

(A) Visarga preceded by -a and followed by -a¹³

1 116* 3 parityāgomkīkṣutāt, 3 58 32^c atonimittam

(B) Visarga preceded by -a and followed by any vowel except a

1 3 146^b śrutaseneti [D₂ S (G₁ missing) °sena iti śrutah]

1 31 17^c asankhye eti (Da asankhyāye° Dn₁ n₃ D₁ 3 6 7 °khyā iti, D₄ T₁ °khyam iti, M₂ 4 °jam iti tvaham)

1 44 20^d namāstiketi¹⁶ (Ś₁ K₁ °śikā iti srutam),

1 57 31^e rājopanicarety evam, 1 536* mahakaleti

1 115 20^a jyesṭham yudhiṣṭhīrety ahur (S yudhiṣṭhira iti jyesṭham)

1 115 20^b bhīmaseneti madhyantam [K₃ senam tu, T G bhīnam ity eva (T₂ G₁ 2 6 bhīma ity eva) M (M₅ om) dvitīyam bhīma ity ap],

1 115 20^c arjuneti tṛtīyam [S (M₅ om) tṛtīyam arjunam iti (G₁ 2 M₃ 6 8 °na iti)],

1.115 21^a pūrvajam nakulety evam [S (M₅ om) °lam ceti],

1 115 21^b sahādeveti caparam [T₁ °devam athāparam, G₁ 2 6 °devam tathā°],

1 127 21 arjuneti parāh kaścā kaścā kṛneta bhārata {

kaścā durvādhānety evam bruvantah prasthitoḥ tada ||

1 147 21^d sopsarpati [Ś₁ K₁ N₃ °kam smo (K₁ so) patyīṣṭhātī, K₂ °kam smopasar° K₃ °kam copatyīṣṭhātī, K₄ °kam sobhīṣṭhātī N₁ 2 B₁ 5 6 Da D₁ 4 T G₁ 3 °kam upasa° V₁ B₃ Dn °kam anusa° D₅ °kam samusa° G₅ °kam apasa°],

1 169 8* tātety [T₂ G (except G₂ 3) M (except M₃) tatam tvam]

1 223 5^d lchhānopasarpati (Ko prasarpati, K₂ 4 Ñ₂ B₃ Dn D₄ 5 T G₂₋₆ M₅₋₈ visarpati K_{4m} Ñ₃ B₁ 5 6 Da visarpitā, V₁ avasarpati, G₁ 4 apī sarpati, M₃ vanaspatin),

3 327* 2 tvamānopacakrame

3 106 2^c vasudevety, 3 125 28^c mendheteti,

3 132 6^b kahodeti (B_{1m} kahodha iti, K₂ B₂₋₄ Dc Dn D₄ 6 kahoda iti),

3 163 33^d sopsarjata (Ś₁ K smopacariyate, D₃ T₁ G₁ 4 copacariyate, M₂ sarvas taur upacariyate),

¹⁵ We get this form from pra + aca + īnta

¹⁶ In the previous stanza of the same adhyāya we get a correct sandhi (astika ity uta)

3 198 72^c adharmeti [K₄ B₂ 4 D₂ 3 5 adharmah syat Dc adharmesu, T₁ adharmaś ca], 3 207 12^a sopāsarpac],

3 221 77^a mahāsenety evam uktvā [K₁ G₂ °senam tv evam, B₂ 4 D (except D₁₋₃ 5) °senam evam, G₃ evam uktvā mahāsenam G₄ suratmajam tv evam uktvā],

3 249 6^b koṭikasyeti (B₄ 4 cētī), 3 250 4^b koṭikasyeti

3 254 10^d bhimeti, 3 290 21^d eṣopacārah (B₁₋₃ Dc₂ Dn₂ D₁ 2 5 evo°, Dn₁ N₃ D₄ 6 G₃ eva°),

3 293 12^c vasuṣenety,

4 9 9^d tantipalety, 5 139 10^a vasuṣenety

5 143 12^c sūtaputrety

5 145 36^a karānahinety (K₁ 2 D₂ 7 G₂ °hinoyam K₄ B Dn₁ Ds D₁ 6 8 10 M₁ 2 °hinatvāt, D₃ 4 °hinas tu D₉ °hino vai),

5 187 25^b tatolukāśrame (K₁ 2 5 tatharcakasrame K₃ 4 B Dn₁ D₁₋₄ 6 8 10 G₁ M₄ tatholukā°, D₇ tathā karva°)

(c) Visarga preceded by ā and followed by a or ā

1 21 6^d pannagabhavan (Ko 2 4 Ds phanino K₁ cahayo for pannag)

1 58 50^b pitavas sitaprabhah [B (except B₆) Dn D₃ °vāsah sītī°]

1 87 18^b vasuman bravit [N B D G₃ vasum n abra° T₁ M (except M₆) vasumanāś cābra°]

1 98 31^a tam sa dirghatamaṅgesu [S (except G₆) ange (T₂ G₃₋₅ °gam) d rghatamas tam sa (T₂ G₁ 2 4 5 °mās tasyah)]

1 119 14^d paṇḍavabhavan [N (K₁ om) tejasa° (B₆ Da te tada)],

1 1361 *2 cotkanthitabhavan

1 124 25^d vismitābhavan (Ś₁ K₁ vismayam jayuh D₄ °tananaḥ, T₂ G₄ 5 prekṣya sarve savismayah),

1 128 12^b bhāgīrathyaḥam (Ś₁ K D₅ jahnavyam (Ko₃ 4 °igāh) aham, G₂ thyaś tvam)

1 154 24^d bhāgīrathyaḥam (Ś₁ K jahnavyam aham)

1 1882* sūparādhapi (Ko₄ sūparādhā / i, K₃ D₅ °dhā hi B₂ °dhā hi, D₂ svaparādhapi, Ś₁ K₁ svat parād vāpi K₂ B₆ Da D₄ svaparād vāpi),

1 189 11^c tasyaśrubīnduh (K₁ V₁ B₃ Da T G (except G₁ 6) tada (T₃ da) śru°), 1 1990* 2 ucchṛitabhavan,

1 200 11^b prītamānabhavat [N (except N₁ V₁) °manas tada (D₄ stathā)],

1 201 10^a devabhavan bhūtā [N bhayam cakruh (Ś₁ N₁ 2 B₆ Da Dn jagmuh)],

1 208 14^a apsarasmi (Ś₁ Ko 1 4 N₁ D₅ °rā hy asmi kaunteya),

3 17 4^b aṅkī bhavan (S tada),

3 19 2^d pare ca muditabhavan [K₂ B Dn D₄ 6 bhī am, S (except M₂) salvaḥ pramuditabhavat],

3 25 2^a samāśmubhur (K₃ Dn₂ sahā°, T G M₁ dvāda emam varṣanti)

3 25 22^a sahatabhipetur (T₂ G₃ 4 sahāsa°)

3 39 19^d prītamānabhavat,

3 80 21^d prītamānabhavat (B₁ D₃ prīto bhavat tada M₁ (prītamānā abhūt),

3 81.131^c sarasvatyūrunayaś ca (Ś₁ D₁ 2 sarasvatyūruna°)

3 684 *2 sahitanagha

3 166 8^d d navabhavan (K₁ D₅ sthitaḥ),

MAHĀBHĀRATA MANUSCRIPTS IN THE TRAVANCORE UNIVERSITY COLLECTION¹

By

P. K. NARAYAN PILLAI

I describe² below some manuscripts of the Mahābhārata in the Travancore University Collection.

ĀDI PARVAN (Complete Mss).

1. No. 4883 begins with 1.1.5.³ after the two benedictory verses (i) *Nārāyaṇam namaskṛtya* etc., and (ii) *pārāśarya vacah* etc., and extends up to the end of Ādi (1.260.21). Devanāgarī characters, Indian paper—14" × 6½", Folios—350; Lines (to a page 10—12; Letters (in a line) —40 in the text and 50 in the commentary.

¹ Under the auspices of the University of Travancore, a collection of ancient Oriental Manuscripts was begun in 1938 with a view to organising a library for the furtherance of Oriental studies and research. During the short period of five years (1938—43)—too short a period indeed when the success achieved is taken into account—some 14000 codices comprising not less than 18000 works were collected and deposited in the library with all necessary arrangements for their safe preservation and with all facilities for making them accessible to the world of scholars. The Curator's collection which enshrined the invaluable treasures published in Travandrum Sanskrit Series has also been merged into this collection making the total number of codices not less than 17000 comprising nearly 22000 Mss. The Manuscripts Library of His Highness the Maharaja is another big collection of ancient and valuable manuscripts deposited at the Fort Travandrum. Both the Palace collection and the Curator's collection are descriptively catalogued and the complete set of catalogues in 23 volumes is available at the Government Press, Travandrum.

² Every manuscript (Ms.) is described in two sections. In the first section are given, (1) The serial number of the Ms. in the Library Register, (2) The extent of the Ms., (3) Characters, (4) Materials, (5) Size, (6) Number of folios, (7) Number of lines to a page, (8) Number of letters in a line, (9) Date given in the Ms. The second section contains information regarding (i) The present condition of the Ms., (ii) Writing, (iii) Marginal notes or additions, (iv) Method of pagination, (v) Number of chapters, (vi) Nature of Colophons, (vii) Commentary if any, and (viii) Other portions of the Mahābhārata and other Mss. in the codex. Other relevant information regarding the Ms. is also given in the section.

³ Reference is made to the Kumbhakonara Edition (K. Ed.) of the Mahābhārata, Nirvāṇa Sadāra Press, Bombay, 1907 A. D.

Handbook of Oriental Research Institute's Oriental Edition (H. O. R. I. Ed.) 111

100-111 B. K. Y. 62—70

The Ms is in good condition but a few folios here and there are slightly subjected to the ravages of worms. Writing is good, legible and uniform. The end of every hemistich is marked by two vertical red lines. The statements such as *Vaisampāyana uvāca* etc., and colophons are written in red ink. The marginal lines are also in red ink. Folios have serial numbers. On the margin to the left is written 'bhā ā' evidently the abbreviation for *Bharatam Ādiparvan*. And on the right margin of every folio is written "Rama". The colophons generally read *iti Mahabharato Ādiparvanī*. But occasionally it gives the name of the *upaparvan* or *upakhyāna*. (See fols 210, 226 etc). In this Ms there are 215 chapters corresponding to which the Kumbhakonam Edition (K Ed) has 260 chapters⁴.

The Ms contains the text and the commentary *Bhāratārtha dipikā* by Haribhatta.

2 No 10011 begins with 1155⁵ after the benedictory verses (i) *jayati Parasara sunu* etc., (ii) *Parasaryavacah* etc., and the passage *om nāmo bhagavate Vāsudevāya* etc., and extends up to the end of *Ādi* (1 260 21)⁶ Devanāgarī characters, Indian Paper - 17¼ × 6½. Folios - 472. Lines - 9, Letters - 40. Date - Śaka-1675 (A D 1753).

The Ms is in good condition but a few folios at the end are damaged to a certain extent. Writing is tolerably good. Colophons and fragments like *Yudhisthira uvāca* are painted with a pigment of orange colour. On the left and right margins of every folio are seen written 'Ādiparvan' and 'Rama', respectively. The folios are given serial number. No 4 is given to three folios. No 243 to two folios, No 354 to two folios, and No 381 to two folios. The colophons do not give the number of chapter. The Ms contains 245⁷ chapters.

The Ms was copied in *Salivahana Śaka* 1675=A D 1753. (See Colophon—*Śalivāhana Śaka* 1675 *varse Śrīmukha nāma samvatsare* etc.,—fol 472). It was copied by *Mangalavyāsa* a son of *Varanasi*. (See the colophon—*Varānasyātmaajena Mangalavyāsena Ādiparva likhitaṁ idam* fol 472). The Ms contains the commentary—*Bharatākūṭacandrikā* by

⁴ B O R. I Ed has 225 chapters

⁵ *Ibid* 111

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1,225 19

⁷ *Ibid* 225 chapters

Ratnagarbha, son of Hiranagarbha who is the son of Madhava (See colophon on fol 472)

3 No 10137 A begins with 115^a after the benedictory verse—*Nārāyaṇam namaskṛtya* etc, and the passage—*om namo bhagavate Vāsudevāya* etc, and extends up to the end of Ādi (1 260 21)⁹ Devanagari characters, Indian paper—15 × 6½ Folios—364 Lines—12-13 Letters—42-44

The Ms is in good condition It cannot be very old The writing is good The verses are numbered The end of every hemistich is invariably indicated by two vertical lines Such lines are also used to serve the purpose of a full stop The copyist has used the margin also wherever he felt the necessity of a little more space to complete a verse in the text or a sentence in the commentary (See fols 281, 341 etc, etc) On the left margin of the folios is written Ādi or Bha Ādi and on the right one appears either Rama or Heramba or Sri The folios are numbered The colophons mention sporadically *parvan upaparvan* and *upākhyāna* but not the number of chapter

The Ms contains the commentary *Bhāratabhavadīpa* by Nīlakanṭha a son of Govinda auri

4 No 3405 begins with the benedictions *sri Ganesayanamah suklambaradharam* etc and three other benedictory verses (112 and two others) Then the text proper begins with 115¹⁰ and ends with the last verse in Ādi (1 260 21)¹¹ Devanagari characters, Hand made paper—15 × 6½, Folios—222 Lines—12-14 Letters—56

The Ms looks very old and the writing has faded to a certain extent Yellow pigment is applied to a few folios here and there The Ms begins on the second page of the first folio The writing is legible The end of every hemistich is marked by two vertical red lines Red pigment is applied to the colophons The folios are numbered on the second page On folio 3¹ verses 1189-92¹² which are wanting in the original Ms are written on the upper margin On the lower margin are written six

⁸ B. O. R. I Ed 111

⁹ Ibid 1.225 19

¹⁰ Ibid. 111

¹¹ Ibid 1.225 19

¹² In B. O. R. I Ed these verses are not seen

verses 1.1.109—114¹³ which are not included in the original Ms. Such marginal additions are seen on a good many folios, written apparently by more than one hand. In this, Ādi is complete with 247¹⁴ chapters. Many colophons that do not mention *upaparvan* or the name of the chapter or *upākhyāna* are met with herein.

5. No. 5877. The text proper begins with 1.1.5¹⁵—and runs to the end of Ādi. Malayalam characters; palm-leaf—26" × 2"; Folios—244; Lines—9; Letters—76.

The Ms., even though not in a damaged condition, appears to be of fairly good antiquity. The borders of the folios are worm-eaten. The upper edge of the first folio is so damaged that the benedictory verses in the beginning could not be read. Writing is very legible and fairly good. There is hardly any correction or over-writing. Two folios each are numbered 106 and 107. The folios are numbered by aksaras.¹⁶ In this Ms. Ādi comprises 256 chapters of which 197 belong to the Sambhava. (See colophons on folios 242 and 244).

ĀDI PARVAN (INCOMPLETE MSS.)

6. No. 5550. begins with 1.1.5¹⁷ after benedictions (*Anantaśāyī sahāyam* and the verses—1. *śuklāmbāradharam* etc., 2. *yasya dvirada-vaḥtrādyāḥ* etc., 3. *namo dharmāya mahate* etc., 4. *Vyāsam Vasiṣṭhana-ptāram* etc., and ends with Sambhava, 1.213.27.¹⁸ Grantha characters; palm leaf—15½" × 2½"; Folios 164 (excluding the four extra folios), lines 12; Letters—40.

The Ms. is not at all injured. In the writing two hands can be distinguished. The first is tolerably good but the second is shabby and the letters are too small. Only 143 folios are numbered. The portions 1.39.37—1.123—parallel to 1.99.26—1.189.22¹⁹ in K. Ed. is wanting in the Ms. Colophons give *parvan*, *upākhyāna* and *adhyāya*.

¹³ Ibid., these verses are not seen.

¹⁴ Ibid., 225 chapters.

¹⁵ Ibid., 1.1.1.

¹⁶ *na* 1; *nna* 2; *nya* 3; *ṣkra* 4; *ṣhra* 5; *hā* 6; *ba* 50; *tra* 60; *tru* 70; *cha* 80; *ṇa* 90; *ṇa* 100.

¹⁷ Ibid., 1.1.1.

¹⁸ B. O. R. I. Ed. does not contain this chapter.

¹⁹ Ibid., 1.69.18 to 1.162.....K. Ed. 1.189.22 is not seen in the parallel chapter B. O. R. I. Ed. 1.162.

At the end a folio contains some portion from *Mohābhārata* and another one contains some portion from *Yuddhakāṇḍa* in *Rāmāyaṇa*. In the second page of the latter folio is seen an index of *porvons* in the *Mohābhārata*. There is a blank folio each at the beginning and at the end. These four folios are not included in the number 164 given above.

7. No. 4214. After the benediction *Śrī Rāmachondrōyonomoh* and the benedictory verse *vāgīśōdyā* etc., the text proper begins with I.1.5²⁰ and extends up to I.108.12 *²¹ in *Sambhava*. Telugu characters; Palm leaf—16½" × 1¼"; Folios—173; Lines—8; letters—56.

The Ms. looks very old and ill-preserved. Two folios at the end are worn out on both the left and right sides. Writing is good and legible. On the margin of fol. 1^a to the left is inscribed—*Śrī Venkātācalapati egati Bhāratam Ādīparvom*. The beginning of a chapter is indicated by a cross like diagram on the margin. The folios are given serial numbers on the above page. Usually the colophons give the names of *upaparvan*, *upākhyāna* and the number of *adhyāyas*. But occasionally we see long colophons stating many other usual things.

8. No. 2291 begins with I.1.18²² and contains the rest of *Ādi*. Grantha characters; palm leaf—16¾" × 1¼". Folios—294 (excluding the three missing ones No. 1, 154, and 155, and including the eight damaged folios at the end for which new folios are supplied.) Lines—10; Letters—48.

The Ms. looks very old and is rather in a worn out condition. The sides of the folios are invariably worn out, and the inside is also seen worm-eaten here and there. The eight folios at the end are very much dilapidated. The sixth one is reduced to such a size that it serves only the purpose of an indicator of the former folio. The Ms. is renovated once. In the place of the old 64th folio there appear two new folios both numbered as 64. The old folio No. 173 is also replaced by two new folios. At the end there are twelve new folios the originals of which are tacked on to the end. All these sixteen new folios are written by the same scribe

²⁰ Ibid, I.1.1.

²¹ Ibid, I 95 8^a.

²² B. O. R. I. Ed. I.1.10.

but evidently different from the scribe of the original. The original writing is rather minute but it is fairly legible. It is of a fixed style and by the same hand. There is very little of crasures and corrections. The renovator had to write two folios for every original folio. According to the last colophon the Sambhava parvan is divided into 183 chapters. (See colophon of fol. 286). Āstika and Psuloms together have 42 chapters (See colophon fol. 59). So on the whole there are 225²³ chapters in Ādi. The colophons as a rule give the name of *parvan*, *upa-parvan*, *upākhyāna* (See Śākuntale fol. 102) etc., and the number of the chapter. But occasionally they make some omissions also. The Ms. is not less than 300 years old.

9. No. 2370 begins with 1.1.5²⁴ and extends up to a portion in the 38th chapter in Sambhava parvan, i.e., up to 1.96.52.²⁵ Grantha characters; palm leaf—18½" × 1½"; folios—142; (excluding the blank folios at the beginning and end and 2 old folios at the beginning), Lines—8—9 Letters—60.

The folios do not seem to be very old but their sides are mutilated. To the end, nearly fifteen folios have lost more than two inches of their lower segment on the left hand side.

The holes on folios 4—26 meant for stringing them together have widened and have slightly obliterated this writing. The writing is fairly good and very clear. In the beginning two folios are re-written on new palm leaves but the originals are still kept there. Between the original folios 32 and 57 there appear eleven new folios of which the lower segment of 7a is left blank. These folios look definitely newer than those on which the first two folios are re-written. So, it is clear that Ms. was renovated twice. Folios are sometimes seen wrongly paginated. The last colophon in the Ms. reads—" *iti śrī samhavaparvaṇi saptatrimśo adhyāyohi*" (Fol. 141) In this Ms. *Sūtah* is used instead of *Sautih*. The Ms. is not worn out very much and does not create an impression of great antiquity.

10. No. 3456. After benedictory verses the text proper begins with 1.1.5²⁶ and extends up to a portion of the 27th chapter in Sambhava

²³ Ibid. 225 chapters

²⁴ Ibid. 1.1.1.

²⁵ Ibid. chapters 89 to 100 in K. Ed., describing Śākuntalopākhyāna have no parallel

²⁶ B O R I Ed 1.1.1.

ie, up to 185 11^{ab27} Grantha characters, palm leaf—16½" × 1½",
Folios—133, Lines—9, Letters—48

The Ms is in a dilapidated condition. Some folios (like 59, 60 etc) are damaged beyond repair. Folios 77, 81, 86, 97—100, 102, 108, 113—14, 121, 125, 129—31, are new ones but they are also subjected to the ravages of worms. So it follows that the Ms got damaged on account of negligence and not due to its age. This is also supported by the not too-dirty appearance of the folios. The writing is fairly good. The colophons in the Ms generally give the name of the work *upaparjan* and number of the chapter.

11 No 8300 A. Seven benedictory verses appear at the beginning and the text begins with 115²³ and extends up to the 40th chapter in Āstika (15910)²⁹ Malayalam characters, palm leaf—19" × 2", Folios—60 (excluding the folios of other *parvans*) Lines—9 Letters—55, Date—M E 983—A D 1808

The Ms is in good condition. It has not been used very much. The name of the scribe is Subrahmanya (See fol 10). The writing is excellent. The *upāḥhyānos* are mentioned on the margin by the original scribe. On the margin of folio 3^r the verse 11189¹⁰ is written. This is omitted in the body of the Ms. The folios are given serial number using akṣaras. This is a common feature of Malayalam Mss. For the 40th chapters (*iti* *Āstike catvārimśo adhyāya* Fol 60) in the Ms the K Ed has 59 chapters. In certain colophons the title of the work with its usual attribute a *Somhita* of a lakh of verses, name of *parvan* *upaparjan* *upāḥhyāno* and *adhyāyo* and the number of *adhyāya* are given (See folios 6^r, 60).

The first chapter in the *upaparjan* *Aṁśavatarana* is absorbed into the Āstika. In Malayalam Mss it is seen that the *Aṁśavatarana* is not recognised as an *upaparjan*. (See below Malayalam Mss)

Two folios are seen at the beginning, one with the *parjan* index to the whole *Mahabhārata* and the other with a subject index to *Adi* up to

²⁷ B.J. 15611a

²⁹ B.O.R. 111

³⁰ B.J. 1533

B.J. 11111

³¹ B.J. 55c

Āstika. At the end are seen a few blank folios among which a folio numbered as five contains verses from the Udyagaparvan. This contains the colophon at the end of the 7th chapter in Udyoga

The Ms. is only a portion of the codex 8300 which contains Udyogaparvan also.

12. No. 10483. After the benediction *harih śrī Ganapataye namah* the text begins with 1.1.5³² and extends up to 1.59.10³³. Malayalam characters; palm-leaf—16½" × 1½"; Folios—72. Lines—8; Letters—56.

The Ms. is not very old and is in good condition. The writing in the Ms. is nothing less than an excellent piece of art. Folios are given serial number using *aṅśaras*. For the 40³⁴ chapters in the Ms. (see the last colophon.....*Āstike catvārimso adhyāya*) there are 59 chapters in the K. Ed.; colophons generally mention only the upa-parvan and adhyāya

13. No. 10584-A. The text proper (1.1.5)³⁵ begins just after the simple benediction *Harīh śrī Ganapataya namah*. The Ms. extends up to 1.59.10³⁶ Malayalam characters; Palm leaf—9¾" × 1¼"; Folios—98; Lines—9; Letters—36.

The Ms. is eaten here and there by worms. Still it is in a fairly good condition. Three folios (76-78) in the middle are broken. It looks older than 200 years. Writing is good and very legible. The first folio is not numbered but marked *śrī*. The folios are given serial number using *aṅśaras*. *Upaparvan* and chapters are only generally mentioned in colophons.

This Ms. is only a part of the codex No. 10584. The other part contains another work.

14. No. 10174 begins with a benedictory prose passage and the verse *Nārāyaṇam nameskṛtya* etc. The text proper begins with 1.1.5³⁷ and

³² B O R I Ed 111

³⁴ Ibid, 53 chapters.

³⁶ Ibid, 1.53 36

³³ Ibid, 136 36.

³⁵ Ibid, 1.1.1.

³⁷ Ibid, 1.1.1.

ends with 1354³⁸, Devanagari characters, Hand-made paper—13"×6½", Folios—48, Lines—12, Letters—36

The Ms is in fairly good condition The handwriting is rather ugly Only the first forty folios are numbered

In a few pages here and there spelling mistakes are seen corrected The correct syllable is given on the margin. In a separate folios—verses 1149-74³⁹ are written with the direction in Marāṭhi—*dūsarya patrica śodhana patra hoy* These verses would have otherwise been omitted in the Ms This is written by the same hand that copied the Ms

The Ms is from Mahārāstra country as is clear from the direction in the supplement to folio 2

15 No 1250 begins with the benedictory verse "Sarasvatī namas tubhyam etc The text proper begins with 1154⁴⁰ and runs up to 1295⁴¹ (*bhrūnahatyā tu*) Malayalam characters, Palm leaf—6¼"×1¼", Folios—30, Lines—6, Letters—20

The Ms is so damaged that to handle it without further damaging it is impossible Some folios, especially the last one, are broken The writing is legible, but not attractive This Ms is only a part of a codex containing two other works more

16 No 12530 begins with the benedictory verse *suklambaradharam* etc The text proper begins with 1154⁴² and extends up to 1295⁴³ Grantha characters, Palm leaf—17¼"×1¼", Folios—38 (excluding a blank folios at the beginning and eighteen written folios and two blank folios at the end), Lines—9-10, Letters—50.

The Ms looks rather a new one The black pigment that is usually applied to make the writing clear is applied only to folios 2, 3 and 9 The writing is good, the style is uniform, and the letters are small The folios contain correct serial numbers The last colophon—*iti āstīke dvādaśo adhyāyah* (Fol 38^b) shows that the Ms contains the first 12 chapters completely and a portion of the next chapter. In K Ed nearly 29

³⁸ Ibid 1314

⁴⁰ Ibid 111

⁴² Ibid 111

³⁹ B O R I Ed 11—54-8.

⁴¹ Ibid, 11205c.

⁴³ Ibid, 1255

(BORI Ed. 25) chapters correspond to this Ms. In the colophon *upoparvan* and *odhyāyo* are mentioned.

Eighteen written folios found at the end appear to contain a portion of some commentary on the Mahābhārata

17. No. 10504-B. begins with 1.1.5⁴⁴ after the benediction "*Harih śrī Gaṇapataye nomoh, avighnom astu*" and contains the beginning portion of Ādi up to 1.5.24.⁴⁵ Malayalam characters; Palm-leaf 24" × 2"; Folios—16; Lines—7-9; Letters—90

The Ms. looks very old and is considerably damaged. The last folio is broken. Most of the folios are brittle and full of small holes and depressions due to the ravages of worms. Even the side boards look damaged. The writing is not very attractive, but it is legible and of uniform style. The folios are numbered serially by *akṣaras*, but the number is visible only on a few folios since the margin on the left hand side is worn out in the case of many folios

The codex contains the Ms. of Udyogaparvan also, and it appears to be old

18. No. 2989. After *Hari śrī Gaṇapataye nomoh* the text proper begins with 1.60.1⁴⁶ and extends up to the end of Sambhava parvan (1.191.61).⁴⁷ Grantha characters; Palm Leaf—21" × 1½"; Folios—229 (excluding the blank folios at the end); Lines—6-9; Letters—48-52.

The Ms. is in good condition even though the edges of a few folios at the beginning are spoiled by white ant and some folios are damaged to a certain extent. The writing is legible. Two different styles are noticed in the writing but this need not necessarily mean the Ms. was copied by more than one hand. Verses 1.128.22^{cd}, 1.128.67^{cd}, 1.129.65^{cd}—68^{ab}, and 1.140.66^{ab} are inscribed on the margin of the folios, 102^a, 104^b, 107^b, and 132^b respectively. These passages are omitted in the body of the Ms. The writing on the marginal space is very much crammed and

⁴⁴ B O R I Ed 11.1

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 1519c.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 1541

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, The verse is not seen Chapter 1 165 is parallel to chapter 191 in K Ed

illegible. It is written by the same hand. Such marginal additions are seen on folios 136, and 167 also. The addition looks comparatively fresh. So it is clear that somebody has made this addition at a time later than that of the copying of the Ms. Here and there some corrections are also seen in the Ms. Folios 160 and 215 are not numbered. According to the last colophon—" *iti sambhove poncavimsocchototamo odhyōyōh* " (fol. 229) the Sambhava parvan has 125 chapters.

Of these 125 chapters, the first six are the last six chapters of the *Amśāvatara* parvan seen in K. Ed. Thus it is seen that recension merges the *Amśāvatara* in the Sambhava. (See below No. 5035).

19. No. 5035 begins with 1.60.1⁴³ after the benediction *Hori śri Ganapōtaye namoh, avignnam astu*, and extends up to the end of *Ādi* (1.260.21).⁴⁹ Malayalam characters; Palm leaf—12" × 1½"; Folios—176; Lines—10-12; Letters—52.

The Ms. is not very old and is in good condition. The last folio alone is slightly damaged and broken. The writing is excellent. Folio 64^b is left blank. Folios are numbered by *akṣaras*. No. 133 is seen repeated once. The Ms. contains 200 chapters parallel to chapters 60-260⁵⁰ in the K. Ed. According to this Ms. the 200 chapters it contains constitute the whole of Sambhava. So, in the recension represented by this Ms *Amśāvatara*, *Jatugra* etc., up to *Mayadarśana*, are not recognised as *upo-parvans*. (See other Malayalam Mss.) Colophons usually give *upa-parvan* and *adhyōyo*.

A folio that contains all the 248 *vīliyodi vākya*s is tacked on to the end.

20. No. 10562 begins with 1.60.1.⁵¹ and extends up to the end of *Ādi*. (1.260.21).⁵² Malayalam characters; palm leaf—20" × 1½"; Folios—198 (excluding a blank folio each at the beginning and end); Lines—10-11; Letters—65.

The Ms. is old but is in good condition. The writing is very beautiful, legible, and of uniform style. Occasionally some letters are scratched off as wrong by putting a dot over them. The margin is very clean hut for

⁴³ B. O. R. I Ed 1.541

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* 1.225.19

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, chapters 54-225.

⁵¹ B. O. R. I Ed. 1.541.

⁵² *Ibid.* 1.225.19.

the serial numbers in *aṅkaras*. Folios 148 and 168 are numbered 149 and 169 respectively but there is no break in the continuity of the text. So, even though the last folio is numbered 199 (the first folio is not numbered) actually there are only 198 folios.

On the whole there are 200 chapters in the Ms. (See colophon..... *Sambhava parvāni dvīsatatama adhyāya*, Folio 198). Colophons generally state only the name of the *upaparvan* and the number of the chapter.

In the Ms. the *Amsāvatarana* is not recognised as a separate *upaparvan*.

21. No. 8299 begins with 1.60.1⁵³ (after the benediction *Harī śrī Gaṇapataye namaḥ avighnam astu*) and extends up to the end of *Ādi*. (1.260.21).⁵⁴ Grantha characters, Palm leaf—18" × 2", Folios—258 (excluding the two blank folios and two folios of subject index at the beginning and three blank folios at the end). Lines—8, Letters—48.

The Ms. is in good condition and is not very old. The writing is fair and legible. The folios are given serial number. The Ms. contains 200 chapters that constitute the *Sambhava*. The portion corresponding to this in K. Ed. has 201⁵⁵ chapters (60–260) (See above—No. 5035).

22. No. 10642 begins with (*Sambhava*) 1.60.1⁵⁶ after the benediction *Harī śrī Gaṇapataye namaḥ, avighnam astu*; and extends up to (*Sambhava* 1.129.88⁵⁷ Malayalam characters; Palm leaf—11" × 1½"; Folios—168; Lines—8; Letters—30.

The condition of the Ms. is good but it looks pretty old. The writing is bold, clear and of uniform style. The margin is left blank. Folios are numbered by *aṅkaras*.

The Ms. contains 62 chapters (See colophon —*iti sambhava parvāni dvīsatatama adhyāya*—Fol. 168) for which the K. Ed. has 70⁵⁸ corresponding chapters. Colophons generally give *parvan* and *adhyāya* only.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 1.541

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 1.225 19.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, There are only 172 chapters

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 1.541.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 1.114 is the corresponding chapter, but the verse is not seen

⁵⁸ B O R t Ed. has 61 chapters

On the side board is written *Itappalli Mathathulvaka Sambhava-parvam ādi, i e*, the Ms which contains the beginning of Sambhava belongs to Itappalli Matha

23 No 11038 begins with 1601⁵⁹ and extends up to a portion of the third chapter in the Caitraratha *upa-parvam* (11817)⁶⁰ Malayalam characters, Palm leaf—21" × 2'; Folios—117, (excluding three blank folios at the beginning and four at the end) Lines—8-9; Letters—70-80

The Ms looks very old and the edges of the folios are slightly damaged But the writing is not at all mutilated and the Ms is in good condition The writing is legible and shows a fixed style But it is not so beautiful as the writing in Ms No 10562 There is practically no correction or overwriting Serial number of the folios is given on the marginal space As is usual in Malayalam Mss, the number is indicated by *akṣaras* The last folio has no serial number The Ms contains only 114 chapters and a portion of the 115th chapter The corresponding portion in the K Ed has nearly 122⁶¹ chapters In the colophons are generally mentioned the name of the *upaparvan* and number of *adhyaṃya*

The opening portion *śrutvā tu sa* of the beginning verse is obliterated In the same verse the portion *abhyāgachad rsi* was originally omitted by the copyist but the necessary space for inscribing it was left blank This lacuna is found filled on a later occasion by a different hand

All the colophons mention Sambhava parva So, the *upaparvans*, Amsāvatarana, Jatugrha, Hidimbavadha, Bakavadha, and Caitraratha are not recognised as such, on the other hand they are taken to be parts of Sambhava

24 No 161 begins with 1858⁶² (Sambhava) and extends up to a portion of 155th chapter in Sambhava i e, up to 12456,⁶³ Grantha characters, Palm leaf—16½' × 1½'; Folios—196 (excluding the folios of other parvans at the end) Lines—10, Letters—64

The Ms looks very old and is in a damaged condition Two folios at the beginning and four at the end have lost considerable portion on the

⁵⁹ Ibid 1541

⁶⁰ Ibid, 1127

⁶¹ Ibid, 102 chapters

⁶² B.O.R.I Ed 188.

⁶³ Ibid 12135

right hand side. Some folios (Ex. 130, 246-287, etc.) are almost missing. Writing on the upper segment, to the left hand side, of the eleven folios in the middle (120-130) is mutilated to some extent. The sides of folios are also slightly worm-eaten. In the place of the folio 126, appears two main fresh folios both numbered 126. This shows that the Ms. was once repaired. The writing is legible and good. There is neither correction nor any marginal addition. The pagination is faulty in the case of certain folios. (See 244-238-242-240-239 etc., etc.) But the text is continuous. The Ms. contains chapters 28-155 of Sambhava. In K. Ed. chapters 85-245⁶⁴ form the parallel portion. Generally colophons mention *upaparvan* and chapter.

The twelve folios at the end contain portions of Pauloma and Āstika in Ādi. The Ms. may be estimated to be 300-500 years old.

25. No. 10597 begins with (Sambhava) 1.130.1.⁶⁵ and extends up to the end of Ādi (1.260 21).⁶⁶ Malayalam characters; Palm leaf—13½" × 2"; Folios—154; Lines—10; Letters—55.

The Ms. is in good condition and it does not look very old. But on account of the ravages of worms the last two folios have become fragile. In the middle also portions of some folios are eaten by worms. The writing is excellent due to the uniform formation, beauty, and legibility of letters. There is very little correction in the Ms. Pages are numbered by akṣaras as is usual in Malayalam Mss. The Ms. has 138 chapters parallel to 131 chapters (130-260)⁶⁷ in the K. Ed. The Ms. represents the recension in which there are 200 chapters in the *upaparvan* Sambhava. (See colophon on fol. 154^b).

The colophons sporadically give the name of the work, *parvan*, *upaparvan*, and *upōkhyāno*, and the name and number of chapter.

II. SABHĀ PARVAN (Complete Mss.)

26. No. L 199⁶⁸ begins with 2.1.2. after *Horih śrī Ganopotaṇṇamoh* and extends up to the end of Sabhā 2.103.39. Malayalam characters; Palm leaf—22" × 1½"; Folios—183; Lines—7; Letters—48-50.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 86-213 chapters

⁶⁵ B. O. R. I. Ed 1.114

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 1 225 19

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 112 chapters (114-225)

⁶⁸ L. shows that the Ms. is taken on loan and deposited in the Library.

The Ms is a very old one and its sides are much injured. Worms have also destroyed some portions on the upper side. A few folios are broken and partly lost (See Folios 151 and 152) and a few others are brittle. The writing is shabby but shows a uniform style. The folios are numbered serially. The Ms has 114 chapters corresponding to 103 in the K Ed.

The colophons generally mention the *parvan upapariṇa* and the name and number of the chapter.

The Ms appears to be very old.

27 No 2565 begins with 2.1.2 (for the Ms does not contain any benedictory verse) and extends up to 2.103.39. Grantha characters. Palm leaf—17" × 1½", Folios—176, Lines—8, Letters—48.

The Ms is not very old and is in good condition. The writing is fair and legible. On the first folio at the top is noted the variant *kim cakāra mahātejās taṁ ma* (See 2.1.2) for the original '*Pandavāḥ kīṁal'urivanta saram*' by a different hand. It may be noted that the variant noticed by the later text corrector agrees with the K. Ed. At the top of the folio No 35 is written 2.20.21^d—23 a portion which was omitted by the original scribe in the Ms. The omission was due to the scribe's mistaking the expression *Pandaveya ca prastastuḥ* of 2.20.21 for the same expression found in 2.20.23 also. The correction agrees with the text of the K. Ed. On folio 36 the hemistich *samutpannas tu sudrūyam Gautamaḥ samśataṁ rātaḥ* is shown to have the variant—*samutpādya sajayāyām Gautamādin subhauratan*. The parallel in K. Ed. agrees with neither of these. Here and there some spelling mistakes are also corrected (See Fol. 26).

The Folios are numbered. No 91 is repeated once. The Ms contains 119 chapters (Colophon *ślokaṁ acchatata n o adhīyāḥ* Fol. 176) parallel to 103 in K. Ed. Occasionally only one meets with long colophons.

28 No 8301 A begins with 2.1.2 without any benediction and contains the whole of Sabha (i.e. the portion up to 2.103.39) Grantha characters. Palm leaf—19" × 2½". Folios—63. Lines—10-13. Letters—82-85. Date—V. E. 980—A. D. 1800.

The Ms is neither very old nor worn out nor does it appear to have been used much. The letters are small, neat and legible. On the left hand side margin of the most of the folios is seen iscribed the subject index by
M-1111 62-8

a different scribe on a later occasion. The very same subject index is written in a folio at the beginning by the original copyist. Corrections are few and far between. Folios are given serial number. The Ms has 114 chapters (See colophon..... . *caturdaśa-śata-tamo adhyāyah* Folio 63^a). K. Ed. has only 103 parallel chapters. Generally the colophons give only *parvan* and *adhyāyo*. (See Folios 62^a; 61^a etc.). Occasionally long colophons are also seen (See Folio 2^a, 63^a).

The codex also contains *Virāta parvan* and a portion of *Vana Parvan*. The original owner of the codex was Cokkal Mahārāja. The scribe was one Rāmasvēmi the son of Sahasranaman, who belonged to Puttur, Kāveripattanam, Choladeśa. (See Folio 63).

29. No. 10508-A begins with 2 | 2 after the benediction *Ganapataye namaḥ*, and extends up to the end of *Sabhā* (2 | 103 | 39) Malayalam characters; Palm Leaf—20" × 1½"; Folios—125 (excluding a missing folio); Lines—9, Letters—65.

This palm leaf Ms. is very old and damaged to a great extent. The sides are worn out and the inside is eaten by worms in a destructive manner. Two folios at the end and one in the middle (See Fol. 97) are broken. There are some more fragile folios. The writing is good and of fixed style. The folios are numbered but the number is not generally visible due to the fact that the margin is worn out, and eaten by worms. The colophons as a rule include the name of the work, *parvan*, *upaparvan*, *upākhyāna* and name and number of *adhyāya*. The Ms. contains 114 *adhyāyās* parallel to 103 in the K. Ed.

The Ms. appears to be very old.

The codex contains portions of *Āśvamedhika* and *Bhīṣma parvans*. From the inscription on the side board it is clear that the codex originally belonged to Idappalli Matha.

30. No. 10574 begins with 2.1.2 after the benediction 'Harīḥ śrī Ganapataye namaḥ aṅghnam astu' and runs up to the end of *Sabhā* (2.103.39). Malayalam characters; Palm leaf—15" × 1½"; Folios—155; Lines—8; Letters—60.

The Ms. is in good condition but it looks pretty old. From the upper side worms have eaten into the Ms. The writing is as good as any high class printing. In addition, it has the special value of being written by

an iron stylus on palm leaf material. The Ms. contains no correction. The pages are numbered by aksaras. There are 115 chapters instead of 103 in the K. Ed. Colophons generally contain parvan, upākhyāna and adhyāya.

31. No. 10612 begins with 2.1.2 after the benediction *Harīh śrī* etc., and extends up to the end of Sabhā 2.103.39. Malayalam characters; Palm leaf—12" × 1½"; Folios—173; Lines—8; Letters—45.

The Ms. is in a fairly good condition. It cannot be very old. Nor is it used much. The writing is of average beauty and neatness. Here and there some corrections of spelling mistakes are seen inscribed on the margin. The folios are numbered by *akṣaras*. There are 104 chapters parallel to 103 in the K. Ed. In the colophons only *parvan* and *adhyāya* are seen generally.

The last folio contains an index of all parvans from Sabhā onwards.

32. No. 6927 begins with 2.1.6 after the benediction *om namah śrī paramātmāne* and extends up to the end of Sabhā 2.103.39. Devanāgarī characters; Old Indian paper—12" × 5½"; Folios—120; Lines—9-10; Letters—36-46; Date—Samvat 1656 (A. O. 1599).

The Ms. is in tolerably good condition even though it is very old. The white colour of the paper has faded to a considerable degree. Folio 70 and 71 are missing. The writing is of average legibility and neatness. The Ms. is amplified by a later writer. (See Folios 13, 14 and 120 etc.). Spelling mistakes are also seen corrected. Red pigment is applied over the colophons. This pigment is also used to mark the end of every hemistich. The folios are numbered. The colophons generally make mention of parvan, upaparvan and the theme but only two of these are found at once in a colophon. (See colophons on Folios 120, 121, etc.).

After the colophon at the end of Sabhāparvan is seen written *Samvat 1656 varse proṣṭapati budhe likhita*.

From a note written by one who is different from the original copyist, at the end of the Ms. the following facts can be gathered. 1. The Ms. was copied by Haribhai. 2. at Ahamadabad, 3. at the instance of Vanavāli vaisnava.

33. No. 7085 begins with Sabhā 2.1.6 after the benediction *Nārāyanam namaskṛitya* etc. and ends with 2.103.39 the last verse in Sabhā

Devanāgarī characters ; Old Indian Paper—14½" × 7½" ; Folios—72 ; Lines 13-16 ; Letters—46.

The Ms. is fairly old but is in good condition. The writing is of a fixed style and letters are tolerably legible. Red ink is used to mark the end of hemistiches and to write the colophons. The verses are also numbered. The original scribe himself has written certain verses which he has left out in the Ms., on the margin. (See Folios 3^b, 25^a, etc.) On Folio 6^a is seen an elucidatory note on verses 2.5.24-25 and on 6^b is seen a similar note on 2.5.41. Two verses form the Viṣṇupurāṇa which are connected with 2.11.32, in the Mahābhārata are quoted on the top of the folio 13^a. These notes are written by the same hand. On the margin of every folio the name of the parvan (Sabhā) is given. The folios are numbered. The Ms. contains 74 chapters parallel to 103 in K. Ed. The colophons are not uniform. They give sporadically *parvan*, *upaparvan*, *upākhyāna*, and name and number of *adhyāya*.

34. No. 10137-B begins with 2.1.6. after the benedictory verse *Nārāyaṇam namaskṛtya* etc., and runs up to the end of Sabhā (2.103.39 ; Devanāgarī characters ; Indian paper—15½" × 6½" ; Folios—131 ; Lines 11 ; Letters—48 for the text and 64 for the commentary.

The Ms. is in good condition. Yellow pigment is applied to some of the folios. Red ink is used to mark the end of hemistiches. Writing is legible and is of uniform style. On the left margin are seen *bhā sabhā* and *safi* and on the right margin are seen Rama and Heramba sporadically. The folios are numbered. The verses are also numbered.

There are 80 chapters. The colophons do not contain the number of the chapter but it is given in numerals after the colophons.

At the end is written the first verse in Vanaparvan. This is followed by a subject index pertaining to Sabhā.

SABHĀ PARVAN (INCOMPLETE MSS.)

35. No. 8665 begins with 2.1.2. without any benedictory passage and contains the whole of Sabhā but for the two chapters at the end (up to 2.101.67). Telugu characters ; 17½" × 1½" ; Folios—160 ; Lines—6, Letters—65.

This is an old and a slightly worn out Ms. Some folios are a bit worm-eaten. The writing is tolerably neat and legible. The end of every *adhyāya*

is marked by a cross like diagram on the right hand side margin. The Ms contains 115 *adhyāyas* complete (See Colophon on fol 160) and a few verses from the next. Parallel to 115 chapters in this Ms the K Ed has only 101 chapters. The verses eight in number on fol 160^b which belong to chapter 116, are not found in the K Ed. Generally *parvan* and *adhyaya* are only mentioned in colophons.

The Ms looks old.

36 No 6928 begins with (Sabhā) 216 after the benedictory passage *sri Ganapatye namah* and the verse *Nārāyanam namaskṛtya* etc, and ends with 22714. Devanagari characters, Indian paper—12½" × 5½". Folios—64, Lines—8-9, Letters—32.

This looks a very old Ms but it is not much damaged. Writing is bold and clear. Colophons are made distinct by the application of red pigments. It is also used to illuminate fragments like *Vaṣaṁṣūyana utēca*. The folios are numbered. There is no marginal writing of any kind. The colophons mention the *parvan* and the theme, but not the chapter.

37 No L 898 begins with 212 after 'harī sri' etc and extends up to 21421. Malayalam characters, Palm leaf—15½" × 1½". Folios—17, Lines—10, Letters—60.

The Ms is neither very old nor damaged to any tangible extent. The lower part of the left margin of the folios is worn out, but the writing is not at all obliterated. The writing is very good. The letters are small but very neat and of uniform size. There is practically no correction in the Ms. Marginal space is left blank. The folios are not numbered. There are 14 chapters complete and a portion of the 15th chapter parallel to 211—21421 (Chapter incomplete) in the K Ed. The colophons mention only the *parvan* and chapter.

The codex also contains some Mss of Kathakali works i.e. literary texts for the famous Kerala Kathakali dance.

38 No 1237 begins with 25109^b and extends up to 210318. Malayalam characters, Palm leaf—21" × 1½". Folios—176, Lines—6, Letters—56.

The Ms looks very old. The borders are much worn out and a few folios are broken. Writing is clear but not attractive. Scratches and corrections do not disfigure the Ms. The folios are numbered by

aṅśaras, but the number is visible only on a few folios for the margin of many of the folios is worn out. According to this Ms Sabhā has 115 chapters, parallel to which the K Ed has only 103 chapters. In Ādi the Malayalam Mss have less number of chapters but in Sabha they have more chapters than those in K Ed. Colophons sporadically give *parvan*, *upa-parvan*, name and number of *adhyāya*.

The Ms seems to be old

39 No 380-B begins with 2 35 19 and extends up to 2 95 18^{ab}, Malayalam characters; Palm leaf—16½' × 2', Folios—51, Lines—7, Letters—48

The Ms is a very old one and is considerably damaged. The borders of all the folios are very much worn out and there is not a single folio that retains its original rectangular shape. All the folios have become brittle. Some of them are broken. The hole through which the string passes has got widened in the case of all the folios. So, this is a well thumbed Ms. The writing is shabby and not uniform but it is tolerably legible. The folios were originally numbered by *aṅśaras*. The number is partially seen on a few folios. The Ms contains 107 *adhyāyas* (See colophon *saptasatātamo adhyāyah fol 51*). Corresponding to these 107 chapters, the K Ed has only 95 chapters. The colophons usually give *upaparvan* and *adhyāya* only. Occasionally it gives the name of the chapter. At the end there are two written folios. In these the last one contains some Mantra portions.

This Ms is the last part of a codex, the other part begin a Ms of Bhāgavata Daśamaskandha. The codex may be very old—⁶⁹

⁶⁹ In the Travancore University Collection there are not less than 210 Mss of the Mahabharata which pertain to the remaining sixteen parvans.

according to the colophon appearing at the end of each adhyaya,¹ was a pupil of Ānandgiri. The latter is better known to scholars as Madhvācārya the founder of the Viśiṣṭha dvaita school of philosophy and is said to have flourished in 1200 A.D. His Gītā-Bhāṣya is very widely studied.

Aufrecht² records only one manuscript of Prameya-Dīpikā, but from the mention of this work in the descriptive Catalogue³ in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, it seems that this commentary is very well known in South India. A printed text of this work is available, published by the Gujarati Press of Bombay in 1935, which is edited by G. S. SADHALE along with ten other commentaries on the Bhagavad Gītā.

The main object of this note is to study the palæographical changes noticed in palm leaf manuscripts wherein it would be proved that some of them have to be attributed to the writing material used for them.

The script of a palm leaf manuscript suffers on account of the delicate nature of the leaf itself and the limited space available for the letters to be engraved upon it. Though the palm leaf had its own advantages in the absence of any better material on account of the varying lengths in which it could be obtained, the breadth of the folio remained uniformly the same and thus put a limit to the number of lines on each folio. Some space from it had to be allotted to the central holes necessary for tying the manuscript in a bundle and even some more had to be provided so that the written text may not suffer by the widening of these

¹ The following colophons occur at the end of the respective Adhyayas

- (a) इति श्रीमदानन्दतीर्थ भगवत्पादाचार्यनिरचिते श्रीमद्भगवद्गीताभाष्यस्य टीकाया जयतीर्थ
मुनिरिचिताया प्रमेयदीपिकाया द्वितीयाध्याय —॥ श्री ॥—॥ (Folio 41A)
- (b) इति श्रीमदानन्दतीर्थ भगवत्पादाचार्यनिरचिते श्रीमद्भगवद्गीताभाष्यस्य टीकाया जयतीर्थ
मुनिरिचिताया प्रमेयदीपिकाया पञ्चशोऽध्याय ॥—॥ श्रीकृष्णार्पणमस्तु ॥—॥ श्री ॥—
(Folio 101a)
- (c) , अष्टादशोऽध्याय ॥ श्रीकृष्णार्पणमस्तु ॥ श्रीलक्ष्मीनारायणाय नमः ॥
सर्वविद्यामयं ज्ञान कारण विमलहरं पुस्तकं संप्रत्यक्ष्यामि प्रीता भवतु भारती ॥ करकृत
अपराध क्षतुमर्हति सतः ॥ (Folio 124b)

² *Catalogus Catalogorum*, I p. 199

³ See, e.g. *An Alphabetical Index of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library Madras*, part I p. 467 foot note.

holes by constant use. Besides, the nature of the leaf did not allow any ornamental or curvilinear forms of letters to be engraved on it, on account of the veins in the leaves. Many angular characters in the palm-leaf manuscript therefore appear to have a linear or straight form which effected some changes in the formation of the characters, which would have appeared in a different form had the writer used any other material than the simple leaf. This difficulty is particularly noted when more than one component words (*Jodāksaras*) had to be compressed within a limited space even if the exact value of the letters was already settled in the age in which the manuscript was written.

The pointed steel stylus with which the palm-leaf manuscripts were engraved does not seem to have helped the writer in any appreciable way to improve his mode of writing as it could only be used on the leaf in a certain direction, either upwards or downwards, and its use in any other way would have proved injurious to the leaf by damaging certain medial letters, either by scratching the leaf in an undesirable way or by tearing it off completely. Still from the minuteness of details occasionally noticed in manuscripts it is obvious that this kind of damage was less subjected when the leaves were still green and not tough as they become afterwards. There is reason to believe that the manuscripts were written on the leaf before they were sufficiently dried up.

After stating the difficulties encountered in the engraving of palm-leaf manuscript which by themselves are the reasons for the changes noticed in the palæography, we might now turn to the actual changes noticed in the manuscript under consideration.

The script of the manuscript is proto-Nāgari, and a glance at the palæographical chart appended herewith would show that it resembles the present day Nāgari in many respects. In spite of the apparent semblance we find that in it there are many letters which differ from the present day script and for the identification of some of them we have to exert a little to know their correct values.

The first important change that may be noticed in the formation of these is the shortening of the horizontal on the top of a letter where it meets the vertical. This difference we have to attribute to the use of stylus which had to be used without lifting it as far as possible. To the students of palæography it need hardly be emphasised that the horizontal

kinds of manuscripts obtained in India and abroad. PANDIT GAURISHANKAR OJHA⁴ also indicated the same from some of the manuscripts of the 16-17th century A.D. But in their citations the regional factor in the development of the script has not been stressed. From the examples cited there it cannot be ascertained whether the use of the script could have been restricted to any particular locality. This factor cannot be overlooked in view of the fact that even in paper manuscripts belonging to the same period, we notice some difference in script in one and the same locality. Thus we find different scripts⁵ employed in Jaina and non-Jaina manuscripts. The palæographical chart of letters obtained in one manuscript cannot therefore be a desideratum for the age of all other manuscripts in a particular locality and for the same period. Unless a detailed study of some of the most ancient and *dated* manuscripts is completed, as in the case of lithic and copper-plate documents from which a general and systematic evolution of the script has been traced by the epigraphists, it would not be possible to say with any certainty about the age of a manuscript from its script alone.

Till then the accompanying chart would serve only as an attempt in this direction, though the writer has hopes that it would be taken up seriously in places where such material has fortunately been preserved in greater abundance.

⁴ Ojha, *Prācīna Bhāratīya Lipi-Māṭrā*, Lipipatra, 65

⁵ Cf. H. R. Kapadia's articles in *ASORI*, 18 171-86; 19 386-418.

trained minstrels at different festive gatherings to which the common people were admitted as audience. The difference in words may be due to this fact. It is found today that the vocabulary used by different castes is slightly different. The vocabulary of the *māntro* (priestly) literature may be different, may be conservative and old, may have many echoes—even in later times of the old Indo-European-Iranian vocabulary while the *sautā* (from *sūto*, the story-teller) literature as representing a contact with an ever changing audience may represent a more popular vocabulary. A change in the fashion in words may have for its causes either the time factor or culture-content of different Sanskritic texts. It was, therefore, thought necessary, more from the point of view of further studies than for the exigencies of the present paper to prepare an index of kinship terms discussed in this paper and to give a word-count for the different terms.

The Hindu family or the Vedic family has been studied by many scholars both Indian and European. DELBRUCK and SCHRADER have even studied the kinship terms used but the point of view of this paper is different from that of these former studies. Firstly this paper deals with one text only and studies the kinship terms and usages as depicted in one narrative only. The necessity of a critically edited text is justified by the fact that within the so-edited text the terminology follows a perfectly logical pattern without exception while all the words which would have vitiated this pattern are found in texts which are rejected solely on the ground of manuscript evidence. (Thus the word *pitruvyo* not discussed in this paper as not occurring in the critical text is found in the Kumbhakonam edition). This also leads us to the second point that Indian social institutions must not be studied in an eclectic way by gathering the evidence of the *Dharmōśāstros* but must be studied by compiling case histories of different kinship usages recorded in Brahmanic, Buddhist and Jaina literatures. These would reveal to us, as does this story of the epic, that the Indian social institutions have evolved in a world of constant and stimulating culture-contact where people of different cultures marry with each other, fight with each other and have to live as neighbours carrying on a struggle which may end in cultural assimilation or extermination. In the Mahābhārata story this cultural process is unrolled before our eyes in a vivid and gripping narration and the attention of a student of social process must be *primarily* fixed on these narratives and not on such abstract one-sided treatises as the Dharma-śāstras. The first part of the paper describes the kinship terms, the second, the kinship usages and the family organisation. References to other Sanskrit texts is avoided as it is necessary to complete some more

Śeṣa said, " Oh great-grand father, I desire only this boon".'

(d) It is also used for any distant ancestor or for ancestors in general.

tathī (Janamejayaḥ) sampūjayatva tam (Vyāsam)

yatnena prapitāmahaṃ ||

1 54 15

' (Janamejaya) did homage to his ancestor (Vyāsa) Vyāsa is the grand father of the great-grand father of Janamejaya. (Vyāsa-Pāṇdu-Arjuna-Abhimanyu-Parīkṣit-Janamejaya) '

tesām apīdam prapitā mahātām rājan pītuḥ caiva kuruttam n m || 1 194 5

' This kingdom belonged to their ancestors as also to their father, they who are the best of Kurus '

Here Bhīṣma wants to stress that the kingdom is the ancestral property of the Pāṇdavas

(e) In the following the word is applied to the creator

sphṭesya vṛṣṇivamśasya bharta gopta ca Mādhavaḥ

trayāṣaṃ api lokanam bhagavan prapitāmahaḥ ||

5 84 3

' Mādhava is the sustainer and the protector of the prosperous Vṛṣṇi clan, he the Lord, the Creator (ancestor) also sustains and protects the three worlds '

Brahman the creator is called *prapitāmaha* also (cf. below under *pītamaha*)

(f) The descriptive phrase father's grandfather—*pītuḥ pītamahas*—is also used in place of *prapitāmaha*

tathaiva sarvadharmajñāḥ pīturmama pītamahaḥ |

Pratīpēḥ pṛthivīpalaḥ.... ||

5 147 4

Dhṛtarāṣṭra says to his son—" So also the king Pratīpa, learned in religious lore, the grandfather of my father (was famous etc.)

GRAND FATHER

The word *pītamaha* is used for (a) the father's father, (b) the brother of the father's father, (c) mother's father (P), (d) for ancestors in general, and (e) for Brahman the Creator.

In the following examples Vyāsa and the king Vicitravīrya are both referred to as the father's father of the Pāṇḍavas. As is well known Vyāsa was the begetter of their father, while Vicitravīrya was the legal father (the mother's husband) of their father.

evam uktvā mahābhāgah Pāṇḍavānām pitāmahaḥ |

Pārtho nīmantrya Kuntīm ca prātiṣṭhāta mahatpātṛḥ || 1.157.16.

'The noble grandfather of the Pāṇḍavas, having said so and taken leave of the Pārthas and of Kuntī, started.'

rājyam tu Pāṇḍonāmapradhṛṣyam | tasyādya putrāḥ prabhavanti nānye |

rājyam tad etan nikhilam Pāṇḍavirām | pātāmahaḥ putraputrānugmḥ || 5.146.32.

'This kingdom was Pāṇḍu's without a rival. His sons alone shall rule now and none others. This whole kingdom belongs to the Pāṇḍavas. It has descended to them from the grandfather, and is to be inherited by the sons and the grandsons.' (pātāmaha may mean ancestral also but in this verse it seems as if special reference is made to the fact that the two ascendant generations—the father and the grandfather—of the Pāṇḍavas were kings and they therefore had a right to the kingdom).

(b) Bhīṣma the half-brother of Vicitravīrya, the grandfather of the Pāṇḍavas and Dhṛtarāṣṭras is also called the grandfather. As grandfather (uncle?) of these princes and as the oldest male member of the family he is referred to as grandfather by almost all the younger people [Dhṛṣṭadyumna (3.13.118) Karṇa (5.61.12,13), and Kṛṣṇa (5.71.11) belonging to the generation of the Pāṇḍavas.]

Bhīṣmaḥ pītāmaho rājā Viduro jñanī ca me |

suhr̥jñanī ca pr̥yo me nagare n̄gāḥhvaje || 3.1.33

(Dharmarāja says), "Grandfather Bhīṣma, the king, Vidura, my mother and most of my friends are in the city of Hāstinapura."

bhavan Kṣattā ca r̥jā ca t̥c̥rya vā pītāmahaḥ |

m̄m eva parigrahante nānyam kāmāna p̄rthivām || 5.125.4

"You, Kṣattā, the king, the preceptor, even the grandfather put the blame on me and on no other king," said Duryodhana.

(c) In the following the word is used for mother's father.

akāṅkṣante ca dauhitṛn api nityam pītāmahaḥ |

tān avayam vai paritrāṣye rakṣanti jīvān p̄tub̄ || 1.147.6

The *pitāmahas* (father's fathers) always wish for grandchildren (born of their daughters. lit. daughter's children). In protecting the life of the father I am also saving the life of the grandchildren (who will be born of daughters to be born)

This use is unique as another word exists for mother's father.

(d) In plural it is used for ancestors generally. Sometimes it is qualified by the word *pūrva*.

kim akurvanta kauravyā mama *pūrvapitāmāḥ* | 312

Janamejaya asks, "What did my ancient ancestors of the Kuru family?"

pitāmāḥ me varade Kapilena mah_nadī |

nitā vaivasvataṣayam || 310716

"O Great River, giver of boons, my ancestors were led to the abode of death by Kapila." (King Bhagīratha refers to the half-brothers of his great-grandfather)

*aṣam nah kadīcit sa avān dadarsa *pitāmāḥan* |*

lambamānan mah_ṣarte p_dai rūrdhvasir adhomukhān || 11311

(The sage Jaratkāru) once, while wandering, saw his ancestors hanging upside down in a huge pit

(e) It is used to denote the creator Brahman or his son Prajāpati as the begetter of all living beings. Brahman is referred to mostly as *pitāmoha* (the grandfather); actually according to the genealogy he is the great grandfather of the gods (Brahman—Adīti—gods or Brahman Marīci—Kā'yapa—gods) while Prajāpati, through whose daughters the world is generated is far removed from Manu, the father of mankind

*tato dadrsur āsīnam saha devaḥ *Pitāmahan* | 12033*

'They saw there Brahman (lit. the grandfather) seated with other gods.'

tebhyaḥ prācetaso jayāne Dakṣo Dakṣād imiḥ prajāḥ |

*sambhūtāḥ puruṣavyāghra sa ha *lokapitāmah* || 1704*

From them was born Prācetasā Dakṣa, from Dakṣa, the living beings were born, O tiger among men, he therefore is the grandfather (ancestor), of all the peoples.'

'Bali asked his father's father. Pralhāda, the king of Daityas.'

FATHER AND MANES (THE DEPARTED ANCESTORS).

The words *pitr*, *tāta*, *janitr*, *janayitr*, and *janaka* are used. Each word has its own peculiarities as described below.

The word *pitr* is used for (a) father, (b) father's brother ; in the dual it means (c) parents and in the plural it is most often used to denote (d) the departed ancestors.

(a) In the following the word is used for the begetter, as also for the legal father, i.e. the husband of the mother.

śha m'm amara'reṣ haḥ pitā tava Śatakratuḥ |

Kuntīutam śha pr'ptam pa yantu tridaṇḍay ḥ || 3.43.12

The greatest among gods, your father, Śatakratu (Indra), said to me "Let the dwellers of heaven see the son of Kurti, who has arrived here." (Indra is the begetter of Arjuna, while his legal father is Pāṇdu).

śaśvad dharm īmanī j teḥ b'la eva tātā mama |

jīvit ntaṁ amnuṣ'praptah k m tmaiveti naḥ (tutam || 1.110.3

'My father even as a child had his mind bent on duty, but he came to his end with his soul wrapped up in desire.' (Pāṇdu refers here to king Vicitravīrya after whose death he was born to queen Ambālikā from the sage Vyāsa.)

(b) The word *pitr* is also used for father's brother and is sometimes qualified in order to indicate whether the younger brother of the father was meant. It is thus used in a classificatory way.

hatam eva hi paśy'mi g'ṅgeyaṁ pitaraṁ tane | 5.162.2.

I see my father, the son of Gangā, as good as already dead on the battlefield. (Dhṛtarāstra refers here to Bhīṣma, the half-brother of his father).

vyājahṛa tato vīkyaṁ Viduraḥ satyaṅgareḥ |

pitar vadanam anvīkṣya parivṛtya ca dharmavit || 5.146.17

Vidura, the truthful, learned in Dharma, looked at his father, and said these words. (by "father" is meant here Bhīṣma who was the uncle of

Dhṛtarāṣṭra, the half (?) brother of Vidura ; about Vidura's relationship cf. further p.)

sarvathā tvaikṣamaṁ caidā rocate ca mam'agha |
yattvaṁ pīṭari Bhīṣme ca praṇipatāṁ samācareḥ || 5.71.24

'It is just like you, and O, sinless one, I like it too that you pay your respects to the father (uncle Dhṛtarāṣṭra) and Bhīṣma.'

pitā yavīyān asmākaṁ Kṣattā dharmabhṛtāṁ varaḥ | 5.145.13

Says Dharmarāja—'Our junior father, the Kṣattā, best among those who practice dharma.'

dadarśa pīṭaram vṛddhaṁ prajñācakṣuṣeṁ svaram | 2.52.28.

He saw his father, the old blind king.

pīṭaram samupātiṣṭhad Dhṛtarāṣṭram kṛtīṇaḥ | 2.64.17

'(Dharmarāja) waited on his father Dhṛtarāṣṭra, with folded hands.'

upasthitaṁ vṛddhaṁ smidhaṁ pīṭaram paśya bhūrata | 2.65.11.

"Oh Bhūrata (Dharma) see me your old blind father" (said by Dhṛtarāṣṭra to Yudhisṭhira).

kṛtyakle upasthīṣye pīṭan ite Cha otkarāḥ |
śmantrya rakṣasāreṣ kaḥ pratathe cottarīm diśm, || 1.143.37.

"I shall wait on the fathers (father and uncles together) in the time of need'. So saying and taking their leave Ghatotkaca went north."

dayito Vāsudevasya balyāt prabhṛti cābhat. |
pīṭṛāṁ caiva sarveṣāṁ prajānāṁ iva candraṁ || 1.13.63

'He (Abhimanyu, the son of Arjuna and Subhadrā) from his childhood was beloved of Vāsudeva and also of all his fathers (uncles and father) as moon is of people.'

yan m'bravit Dhṛtarāṣṭro nityam |
Ajāta'atro vacanam p tī te 5.24.10 ||

'(Know) O Ajāta'atru what Dhṛtarāṣṭra your father (uncle) said to me in the evening.'

(c) tasya vyādhasya pīṭaras brahmanah samādadarśa ha | 3.204.8.

'The Br. hmana saw the parents of the hunter.'

(d) In the plural though it may mean fathers, it is most often used to denote the departed ancestors. The god Yama, the god of the underworld is called the king of the *pitrs* (*pitṛrajaḥ* 3.281.14)

hanyurhi *pitaraḥ* putrān putrāścāpi tathā pitṛn |

Fathers might kill the sons and sons the fathers.

sa teḥ rudhir mibhassu hradeḥ krodham-rochitah |

pitṛn samtarpay m̐sa rudhirepeti naḥ śrutam || 125

'Overwhelmed with anger, he offered oblations of blood to the manes (his dead ancestors), at the tanks filled with blood.'

The word *tāto*¹ is used most often in the vocative singular case, and has become merely a mode of address to a man or men junior than the speaker. It is also used for seniors but rarely. (a) In this sense it has no kinship connotation. It is, however, sometimes used also in the sense of father where it may occur, (b) in the vocative, or (c) in any other case (d) it is also used in a classificatory sense for the brother of the father and is qualified by the adjective *kanyasa*.

(a) bhṛguvamsat prabṛṣṭy eva tvayā me kath tam mahat |

akhy nam akhilaṁ *tāto* saute pr lo'smi tena te || 15327

(Śaunaka says to the story-teller), "You have narrated a great story starting from the genealogy of the Bhṛgu. Dear Sūta, I am pleased with you."

(b) te *tāto* yadi manyadhvam utsavam v raṇāvate |

. viharadhvam yath maraḥ 18521 ||

"If you care, live in happiness and festivity at Vāraṇāvata, like gods." Dhṛtarāstrā says this to Yudhiṣṭhira, using the word *tāto* collectively for all the brothers.

catv ri te *tāto* gṛhe vasantu | sṛy bhṛjuḥ asya gṛhasthadharme ||

vṛddho jñātir avasannaḥ kul nah | sakha dandro bhagīni c.napetyā || 53359

¹ *Tāto* is given as a lallwort by WALDE POKORNY, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der 1-8 Sprachen* I, 704. It means "lather" in many Indo Germanic languages. A modified form *Telō* means aunt in the Irish. As it is only a lallwort, its original root-meaning cannot be fixed as "lather". It may have also from the very beginning two uses (1) a definite connotation and (2) a mode of intimate address amongst members of the family-circle.

Vidura says to Dhṛtarāstra his elder brother "tōto, let these four find shelter in your house, you who carry the duty of the householder, being blessed by riches. The four persons being an aged kinsmen, clansman, come to bad days, a poor friend and the childless sister.

(b and c) m3 tāta tāta tāteti na te tōtō mahamunah | 1 169 7

"Do not call out *tāto*, *tāto tāto* because, this great sage is not your father." (*tāta*).

(d) bhas tāta kanyasa vade dvayor nṛsiya atra sambhavaḥ | 1 98 13

"O Junior father, I tell you two cannot be together here."

(Address by Dīrghatamas to Brhaspatī, the younger brother of his father).

The words *janitr*, *janayitr* and *janaka* occur only once or twice.

bhṛy-y'm janutam putram tadar e svam ivānamam |

hLdate januta prekṣya || 1 68 48

'The father rejoices at seeing a son like his own image in a mirror, born of his wife.'

teṣ'm janayitā n nyas tvadṛte bhuvā dīḍyate | 1 92 51

Nobody except you in this world is their begetter (father). The word here has the meaning of begetter, rather than of the kinship connotation "father".

dhanyas te putra janakaḥ devo bhānur vibhavasub | 3 292.16

Son, blessed is your father, the god Sun

aham te janakas t.ta dharmo mṛdupar.kramah | 3 293 6

"Child of gentle ways I am your father Dharma."

MOTHER

The words *mātr*, *ambā*, *janant*, *janitrī* and *chātrī* are found. The words *mātr* and *ombā* are used for own mother, as also for the step-mother. The word *mātr* is the most frequent of all these words. It is used in a classificatory sense in three instances, once for father's brother's wife, once for mother's sister and once for all women in the family of about the same age as the own mother.

Haḍimbeya parīśrūtā tava mātū 'parīśitā | 3 145 4

'O son of Hidimbā, your mother (Draupadī) is tired '

asraṣam aham trustho garbhā ayy gatas tadā |

āravam mātṛvargasya bhṛgūn m kṣatriyair vadhe || 11715

'At that time, placed in the thigh and still in the embryonal stage, I heard the lament of my mothers, while the Bhṛgus were being killed by the Kṣatriyas'. (Mothers here means the mother and her brothers-in-law's wives and cousins-in-law's wives)

sarvā mātṛs tathā prṣṭvā caiva pradakṣṇam

prayayur vāraṇāvatam 11334

'After taking leave of all mothers (here aunts) making pradakṣiṇā to them they went to Varanāvata ' (As Kuntī accompanied the Pāṇdavas to Vāraṇāvata, here "all mothers" means wives of father's brothers and cousins)

mātaram caiva Gandhārīm ca tvadgupak nṣaya

upasthitaṁ vṛddham andham pitarāṁ paṇyā bhṛtā 26511

'O Bhārata prince see, I your old blind uncle (father) and your aunt (lit. mother) Gandhārī have come to experience your virtues '

ciraviprostam mātaram m m snujñatam arhasi 36617

Mother (aunt), please permit me to go as I have been away from home for a very long time. (Damayantī says this to her mother's sister)

Ambā occurs but rarely, twice in the vocative case and once in the nominative.

evam caiva vadaty ambā | 118722

'The mother also says so'.

nāmba Śantanunī j tathā kauravam vama mudvahan |

pratiñ m vitath m kurya m || 514532

'O mother, I who am born of Śantanu, bearing the name of the Kauravas shall not falsify my solemn pledge'.

aham preṣyāmi ca dṛṣṭvā ca tavāmba sutavatsale 514533

'I am your servant and slave, O mother, fond of sons.'

The word *dhātṛī* is used for the nurse, or an elderly woman attendant who functions as chaperon but in one place it is used definitely for mother.

anujñātī yayaḥ sū tu kanyā ś hvapateḥ puram
vṛddhair dvijātibhur gupta dhātṛyā c. nugatī tadā 5.172.2.

'Being permitted to do so, that maiden went to the city of Śālva. She was protected by elderly Brahmins and accompanied by an elderly lady as chaperon.'

tesām janayitī n'nyas tvadṛte bhuvī vidyate
madvidhā mānuṣī dhātṛī na caivṛt ka kad'cana 1.192.5

'Their begetter (father) is nobody but you on this earth. And no mortal mother exists which can be compared with me.'

The words *jananī* is not very rare and occurs in every parvan. The word *janitrī* is rare.

tatropavīṣṭreiv ivñalasya tetam janitrī mama pratarkah 1.185.7

'Seated there, like the flame of the fire, was I think their mother.'

gurūnām caiva sarveṣām janitrī paramo gur' h 1.186.16

Of all the elders deserving obedience, mother comes first.

FATHER'S BROTHER

No special word for this relation is found in the critical edition, which is to be expected as everywhere the words for father, namely *pitr* and *tōta* are used for father's brother. The word *pitṛya* occurs in the Kumbhakonam edition and the verse in which it occurs does not form part of the constituted text on the strength of documentary evidence only; now its omission is justified on the strength of the kinship terminology and usages as found in the Mahābhārata.

MOTHER'S BROTHER.

The word *mātulo* is everywhere used. The more homely word *māma* used in folktales like *Pāñcotantra* is not found.

FATHER'S SISTER.

Father's sister is *pitṛvasī* or *pitus svasā*. Kuntī is often times addressed and mentioned as *pitṛvasā* by Kṛṣṇa.

kī nu śmantunī tvadṛg lōkēṣṭi asti pitṛvasā 5.68.90.

"O, aunt (sister of my father) where is a woman like you in the universe?"

tato paśyat svasārām pr tim'n pātah 2 12 29

He visited with joy the sister of his father

MOTHER'S SISTER

The same words as for mother is used once (cf. above). There is also the descriptive term *mātṛvasū* or *mātur bhagini*

baḥham ity eva t m ukta hṛtā mātṛvasā nṛpa prasth'payāmiśa 3 66.20

The rejoicing aunt (mother's sister) said, "so be it," and sent her home.

praṇamya mātur bhaginīm idam vacanam abravait 3 66 15

'Bowling down to the aunt (mother's sister), she said these words'

BROTHER

The same word *bhrātṛ* is used for brother, father's brother's son, sometimes for father's sister's son, mother's brother's son and also once for great-grandfather's brother's grandson. Thus the word *bhrātṛ* is used in a classificatory sense for various relatives. The other words in use are *sodorya* and *sahodora*. These two words (born of the same mother) are used sometimes as an adjective of the word *bhrātṛ* to distinguish own brothers from step-brothers. They are used collectively of all Pāndava brothers though they are not born of the same mother; the three elder brothers being step-brothers of the two youngest

mity-nusaktavairā hi bhrātarāḥ(?) bhrataro devad-navāh 5 98 18

'The brothers, (step-brothers) Devas and Dānavas, are always hating each other.'

bhrātarāḥ parvaj tas ca susamddhaś ca sarva'ah
nikṛtjā nirjitāḥ devair asuraḥ paṇḍavarābha 3.34.58

'O Pāndava-brave, the gods conquered by cunning the Asuras who were the brothers (step-brothers), born before them and possessed of wealth'

yathairva piṛto Bhīmas tathā tvemapi mūrtah
bhrātā Vicitrav ryaśya .. 1 99.30

'Satyavatī says to Vyās, the son born to her as a maiden, " Just as Bhīṣma is the brother of Viçitravīrya from the father's side so you are his brother from the mother's side " '

*bhr̥ trbhaḥ saha Kaunteya n̄bodhedhem vaco mama
punar vo vīgraho m̄ bhūt kh gjavaprasth m̄ avi a 19924*

' Son of Kuntī listen to my words May you not again quarrel with your brothers (cousins) Live in Khāṇḍavaprastha '

Arjuna uvaca—utsrjyat m Citrasena bhr̥tās m̄ tksm Suyodhanaḥ 3

Arjuna said " O Citrasena, please set at liberty our brother (father's brother's son) Suyodhana '

bhr̥t̥gbbhis te stu saubhr̥ tram 26515

May you keep brotherly relations with your brothers

(Said by Dhṛtarāṣṭra to Dharma The brothers referred to here are the cousins the sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra)

*arhattamaḥ kuruṣu Saumadatt̥ ḥ sa no bhr̥t̥ā
Samjaya mataskh̄ ca 53021*

'The best among the Kurus is Saumadattī, O, Samjaya he is our brother and my friend ' (Dharmarāja refers to Saumadattī as a brother of the Pandavas Saumadattī is the son's son of Balhika the brother of Santanu He thus belongs to the generation of Pandu and ought to have been classed with Dharma's father In age Dharma and Saumadattī may have been about the same This usage of the word *bhr̥t̥r* is curious)

Kṛṣṇa who is the son of the mother's brother is also called brother of the Pandavas

sa te bhr̥t̥ā sakha c̄s̄va katha madya Dhanamjayaḥ 56833

Kuntī asks Kṛṣṇa—" How far is Dhanamjaya, who is your brother and friend ? '

bhr̥t̥ā c̄s̄s̄ sakha c̄s̄s̄ B̄ bhatsor mama ca priyaḥ 57091

Dharma says to Kṛṣṇa—" You are the brother and friend of Bibhatsu and of me "

katham samabhavad̄dyutam̄ bhr̥t̥um̄ tanmah̄ltyam̄ 2461

How did the game of chance played among brothers proceed?

Dhṛtarāṣṭra uvāca. . . tulyābhijānavīryaś ca katham *Uṣūjā* śrīyaṁ nṛpa putre kāmayaś
mohāt 2.50.3

Dhṛtarāṣṭra said " my princely son, how can you covet the wealth of your brother (Dharmarāja), you who are equal to him in birth and valour ?

evamuktās tataḥ sarve *bhṛatara* vipulaujaśaḥ

Varaṇeyah pāṇḍaveṣau ca prastasthau mṛgedham puram 2.1821

Addressed thus, the brave brothers—the two Pāṇḍavas and the one Vārṣṇeya started for the city of Magadha. (The Pāṇḍavas are Arjuna and Bhīma and the Vārṣṇeya is Kṛṣṇa, and they are mentioned here together as brothers.)

In the Aranyaka Parvan Saubhapatī Śālva calls Śiśupāla, the king of Cedi his brother. No direct relationship exists between these two. Śiśupāla is the son of the sister of Kṛṣṇa's father and is related to Kṛṣṇa in the same way as the Pāṇḍavas are related to him. In fact Śālva in one verse calls Śiśupāla a brother of Kṛṣṇa and in the next calls him his own brother. From some stanzas in the Sabhā Parvan it appears that Śālva was a subclan of the bigger and numerous clan of Bhojas who had fled from the North to the West for fear of Jarāsandha. The Bhojas, the Andhakas and the Vṛṣṇis are again subclans who trace agnatic relation with one another being divisions of the great Yadu clan. There one who is a brother of one member of any of these clans is also a brother of any member of the other two clans. Thus Śālva may have called Śiśupāla his brother.

ud'cyabhojās ca tathā kulīnya sṛḍaś-bhābho

Jarāsandhabhaya'd eva pra't c nā dī am ā nīāḥ 2.13.18

Śūrasenāḥ Bhadrakārāḥ Bodhāḥ Śālvaḥ Paṭaccaraḥ

Sustharaś ca Sukutṭaś ca Kunindaś Kuntibhojaś ca 2.13.19

The eighteen families of the northern Bhojas have taken shelter in the West for fear of Jarāsandha. They are Śūrasena, Bhadrakāra, Bodha, Śālva, Pataccara, Susthara, Sukutṭa, Kuninda and Kuntī. 2.13.19

Nine families are here mentioned of these Śūrasena and Kuntī are known to belong to Bhoja-Vṛṣṇi-Andhaka complex. Kuntī is Śūrasena-sutā Vasudeva the father of Kṛṣṇa is called Śauri and the king Kuntibhoja is

the adoptive father of Kuntī the mother of Pāṇḍavas. As the first and the last belong to the Bhojas the presumption is that the other clans mentioned are also those of Bhojas.

bhrātā bhāṣa ca rājā ca na ca saṁgrāmaṁ ūrdham |
pramattā ca hato vrasatam hanīṣye Janardanam || 3 15 21

"I shall kill Janārdana who has killed not in battle, the brave king (Sīśupāla) who was intoxicated, who was but a boy and who was a brother". (Here the word brother may refer to the relationship between Kṛṣṇa and Sīśupāla but in the next verse the relationship of brother is with Sālva, the speaker)

mama pāśaḥ śarvaṇa bhrātā yena nīpātitaḥ |
Sīśupalaḥ ta vadhīṣye || 3 15 13

"I shall kill the evil one who has killed my brother Sīśupāla".

paṭisvaseyā sa tīmananapatyā vasya n prādadau Kuntibhojā || 1 104 23

The warrior (Vasudeva) gave her to the childless Kuntibhoja, the son of his father's sister

sodaraḥ mama sarvaḥ bhrātaraḥ mandacetasaḥ |
saha tair notasāhe vastum tadbhavaṁ anumanyatām || 1 32 8

"All my uterine brothers are fools. I do not wish to live with them. Please permit me to follow my wish (The word *sōdarya* is here used as an adjective.)"

kekayaś ca naravyāghrāḥ sodarāḥ pañca pṛthuvāḥ | 5 19 25

"The five brave kings, the Kekaya brothers. (Sodarya used as a noun)"

bhavaṁ agre rathod rath saha sarvaḥ sahodaraḥ bhāṭṭabhaḥ || 5 162, 19

"First of all are you, with your uterine brothers, proficient in chariot-fighting. (*Sahodara* is used as an adjective)"

ajātasatruḥ apy adya Bhīmārjunavaśanugah |
nīkṛtaś ca mayā pūrvam saha sarvaḥ sahodaraḥ || 5 150 11

Even Ajātasatru follows the will of Bhīma and Arjuna. And formerly I have wronged him and his brothers (*sahodara* is used here as a noun).

In one place the word *bandhu* seems to be used in the sense of "brother".

upapanno guṇaḥ śreṣ ho jyeṣṭhabhāḥ śreṣṭhāgeṣu *bandhuṣu* |
 1. Uṭaputretī mufabda Parthastvamāsi vīryav. n || 5 143 12

MOTHER'S SISTER'S SON.

The word does not occur in the Mbh.

FATHER'S BROTHER'S SON.

It is the same as for brother and he is always addressed and referred to as *bhrōtr*.

MOTHER'S BROTHER'S SON

He is referred to also as *bhrātr* as was Kṛṣṇa by the Pāṇḍavas.

SISTER

The words *svasr* and *bhaginī* are used. The word *sodaryā* is used as an adjective only and never as a substantive as in the case of the words *sodara* and *sohodara*.

sodaryām p. jye. m. sa svasrām pannagottamah | 1 44, 15

"The best among snakes paid homage to his uterine sister."

FATHER'S BROTHER'S DAUGHTER.

FATHER'S SISTER'S DAUGHTER.

MOTHER'S BROTHER'S DAUGHTER.

MOTHER'S SISTER'S DAUGHTER

No word occurs for these relatives in the critically edited text so far except for mother's sister's daughter who is called *mātrsvoseyo*.

mama mātrsvoseyā tvam m. t. D. kṣ. yaṇī mama | 3 213 20

"You are the daughter of my mother's sister because my mother is also a daughter of Dakṣa"

Many words are used for descendants in general without any reference either to the generation or to the sex of the descendant. These are *santāna*, *projā*, *prasava*, *santoti*, *prasūti* and *apatya*.

The words *santati* and *santāna* are often times used not in the sense of "a child" primarily but in the sense "unbroken continuity" of a clan. As this continuity is secured through a child, which in turn begets offsprings, so it has come to mean offspring.

tayorutpīdayīpatyam sa śāntānā kulasya naḥ | 1 97 10

"Beget offspring from the two for the continuity of our race.

santānasyāśvinaśā a k maye bhādam astu te |

anapatyatakapatratvam itv āhur dharmavādinaḥ || 1.94.59

"I wish for the preservation of the continuity (of our race). May you prosper. Wise people say that having but one child is equivalent to being childless."

Śāntasya jāyāṇe samānam tasmād as t sa Samtanuḥ | 1 92 18

"A child was born to the peaceful king therefore was he Samtanu."

mamīnapatyah prīhivīpatih p tū bhavet p tūh putra'atam mamaursam |

kulasya samānakaram ca yad bhavet || 3 281 37

My father, the king is childless. May he have a hundred sons of his own—sons which will help keep the continuity of the line."

yad āgamsvataḥ pumsas tadapatyam praj yate |

tat t. rayati samīatyā p. ravadetān pitāmah n || 1 68.37

'That offspring which is born to a man, knowing traditional lore, that saves the ancestors who have died before its birth, by keeping the continuity of the line.'

tvayi mātā vinasīyam na naḥ aśīt kulasantatāḥ | 1 221 12

'O mother, when you perish, there will be no continuity of our clan.'

tapo v'py athavā jāyāṇo yac c'nyat pavanam mahat |

tat sarvam na samam t ta samīatyeti sat m matam || 1 41 28

'According to wise men penance, sacrifice and whatever else is deemed as sacred is nothing compared to offspring.'

tad d. ragrahāṇe yatnam samīatyām ca manah kuru || 1.13.22

'There try to get a wife and think of getting progeny. *Prajā*, *prasava* and *prasūti* mean that which is born and stand for offspring or descendants in general. *Prajā* also means all the living beings together.

ta ime prasavasy'ithe tava lokāḥ sam vṛtāḥ |

prajāyasya tato lokāḥ upabhoktāḥ śāśvatāḥ || 1.220 13

"These worlds (heavens) are forbidden to you because of children (for lack of children). Beget children and then you can enjoy eternal heavens."

tvat prasūtibh priyā prāptā na mām tapaty ajīvitaṃ || 1146.32

"I have got (given birth to) these dear offspring of yours. Now loss of life will not grieve me."

Mar'ceḥ Ka yapaḥ putraḥ Kaśyap't tu imāḥ prajāḥ |

prajāñire mah bh gā Dakṣakanyās trayeda a || 1146.32.

"Kaśyapa was the son of Marīci. From him the thirteen noble daughters of Dakṣa gave birth to all the living beings."

Apatya stands for a child. The words *anapatya* (childless), *anapatyatā* occur often to describe the most undesired thing on this earth—the condition of being childless.

sī tvam m drim plaveneva t rayemum anindite |

apatyasamvibh gena par m krt m avapnuḥ || 1115.14

'Save M'drī as with a boat, O faultless one, by sharing the children with her and thus obtain fame.'

sarvaṃ cv'napatyaśya na p'vanam ihocyate 1.111.24.

'Everything belonging to a childless person is said to be unblest.'

SON.

The following words are used for a son .

putra, *putraḥ*, *sūta*, *ātmaḥ*, *tanaya*, *sūnu*, *nandana*, *dāyāda*, *dāraka*, and *kumāra*. Of these the words *putra* and *suta* are used most.

The word *putra* is used

(1) for one's own sons. Among these are to be counted (a) one's own son, (b) a son born of one's wife by somebody else during one's life-time, (c) a son born to one's wife after the death of the husband (d) a son born to one's wife while she was yet a maiden at her father's house, and (e) a son born to a daughter who is pledged as *putrīka* to perpetuate the father's line.

(2) brother's son. (3) In dual it is employed for a son and daughter.
(4) for any person of a descending generation.

(1a) *yam putram aśvamedha śikṣiṣṭam purā mayaj'yithib |*
sa te'yam puruṣayig | ra mayavānān gāṇḍakam | 1.5431.

'O, king, tiger among men I this is the eighth son, whom you had through me. Take him home with you.'

(1b) *manniyog'it sukṛite dūṣṭeṣu tapo'dhuk |*
putrān guṇa'ur'yuktān utp dayitum arhasi |
ivatkṛte'ham pṛthū rama gāṇḍeyam putrām gām | 1.11320.

"At my command you should give birth to virtuous son through the agency of some Brahmin, who has practised penance. By this your action I shall gain the blessedness of having children (of being the father of sons)."

(1c) *bhṛtub putrān prad'īy'ma mātṛvairayeb sam'm*
vataṁ cecit'm te devyāḥ nirdā amāha yam mayā | 1.9733

'I shall give to my brother sons like Mitra and Varuṇa. Let the two queens practice the observances as told by me.' (Vyāsa promises to give birth to sons through the widows of Vicitravīrya. They are Pāṇḍu and Dhṛtarāṣṭra who thus become the sons of Vicitravīrya.)

so'hi Karṇa tithā | ubh Pāṇḍav putrān dāmarāb | 5.133.9

'Thus are you, Karṇa, according to custom the son of Pāṇḍu (Karṇa was born to Kuntī in her maidenhood)

may'm āśvamed' putrān d'īy'ma Pāṇḍava kṛam
tathā d'at Pāṇḍavo yam gāṇḍeyam abh'āgama | 1.2923

'He gave birth through her to a son named Balhruvāhana for the king. After seeing him the Pāṇḍava went towards Colakra' (Balhruvāhana was taken up as the son by his mother's father the king of Maruṭrapura)

(2) Throughout the critical edition the word *putra* is used for brother's son also.

himaṇḍaśchakṛtāḥ samprāṇḍitāḥ pūṣṭāḥ sam'pṛapya gaurā pṛak |
putrān āśvamed' dāy'ma mātṛvairayeb sam'm d'at Pāṇḍavo yam gāṇḍeyam abh'āgama | 5.113.12

'What will King (Dhṛtarāṣṭra) say to his anentors when he goes to heaven? Can he, after depriving his innocent sons of their kingdom,

koṭyāḥ 1.12-12

say that he has behaved impartially towards his sons ३ (The innocent sons are the Pāṇḍavas, the brother's children of king Dhṛtarāstra)

anamsayam te pi mamaiva *putrāḥ* Duryodhanas tu mama dehat prasūta |
 स्तुतिं वृत्तिं देहि मां पराहेतोऽत्यजेत् किं नु ब्रूयत सा नतमानववेक्षण || 3518

Dhṛtarāstra says "Doubtless, those (the Pāṇḍavas) are also my son's, but Duryodhana is born of my own body. How can one, who lays claim to balanced judgment, demand that one should sacrifice one's own body for the sake of others ३

nābhinandami te rajan vyavṛṣayam imam prabho |
 पि त्वारं भिन्दे यथा नास्य द्युतहेतोऽतथा कुरु || 2452

'I do not like what you are doing, O king, my master. Act in such a way that your sons (sons and nephews) do not fall out on account of the place of dice

Ksattah *putreṣu putraiḥ* me kalaho na bhaviṣyati || 2453

O Kṣatta¹ my sons (sons and nephews) shall not quarrel among themselves

isto hi *pitṛasya* pita sshaiva |
 तदास्मि कर्ता विदुरात्था माम यथा || 25215

The father is always adored of the son. Therefore I shall do as you, O, Vidura, have told me (Vidura is mentioned as father by Dharma their relation is that of a man and his brother's son)

Pr-mṛdya parastṛaṇi kṛtārtham punarāgatam |
putram asadya Bhīsmas tu haṛṣad aśruny avartayat || 110526

'Bhīsmas shed tears when he got back the son who had defeated the enemies, and achieved his intentions (Here Pandu is mentioned as the son of Bhīsmas)

The word *suta* is used also in all the senses (1a) and (1b) as the word *putra* (2) In dual the word connotes a son and a daughter and (3) at one place it is used in the general sense of descendant without reference to any particular generation, and (4) for a brother's son

१ (1a) so rjunena paramṛśaḥ paryadevayālārtavat |
 २ bahulam kṛpānam caiva Virāṭasya *sutas tadā* || 43638

The son of Virāta when seized by Arjuna wailed long and pitifully

(1b) *evam Paṇḍoh suśūh pañca devadatt mahabalah |*

sambhūtah kṛtimantas te kuruvamṣavivardhanah || 11152

' Thus were born the five powerful sons of Pāṇḍu, given to him by the gods. These sons earned glory and extended the family of Kurus.'

(2) *anujinhi mām aṛya suśau me parimala ca | 114628*

' Give me leave my husband, and protect my son and daughter' (or, two children)

(3) *Akrurah Kṛtavarmā ca Sātyakiśca Śineh suśūh | 2427*

' Akrūra, Kṛtavarmā and Sātyaki, the child of Śinī (Sātyaki is the grandchild of Śinī)

(3) *ihaiṣa putrau mīkṣipyā dāśasya priyadarśinau gataḥ tato vāthekamam 3*

' Depositing the two comely children (son and daughter) of Nala here, he went away where he pleased'

(4) The word *putra* is used as a term of address to any person of a descendant generation whether that person happens to be a son or a grandson. Thus used it means any descendant

na viśeso'sti nie putra tvaya teṣu ca pūthiva 514339

Bhīṣma says to Duryodhana " son, I do not prefer one to the other between you and they (the Pandavas)

nataptatapasah putra preṇusanti mahat sukham 324312

Vyāsa says to Dharmarāja, his grandson, " Son, nobody, who has not undergone penance can get happiness

(4) *katham nu satyāh suśrīṣṭyāṣṭiśh jyeṣṭhah put nam vṛama Dharm. rajah*

Apatsati h pṛthivītalāśhāh sete 32259

' How can my eldest son Dharmarāja, the truthful, the holy, the noble, and without enemies sleep on ground? (Dhṛtarāṣṭra speaks of Dharma as the eldest among his sons) The word *putra* is a diminutive form of *putro* and is used as a term of address to the own son or grandson to any young person. Thus we find the *putra* and *puta*, the two words

most commonly used for son are used in a classificatory sense. The dual of the word *tanaya* is used to denote son and daughter together.

samesyasya ca dara s tvam ma sma śoke manah kṛtīh

rājyena tanayābhyām ca || 3 63 21

You will be united with your wife and two children (son and daughter) and get back your kingdom, do not give over your mind to grief (The form *tanayābhyām* can also be from *tanayā* the feminine of *tanaya* but all the other words used in dual for son and daughter like *sutau dāraḥ* are in masculine and so this form may also be a masculine

Duryodhana kutomulam bhṛsam arto s putrakā | 3 45 6

Dhṛtarastṛa says to Duryodhana Duryodhana my child what is the reason of this excessive sadness ?

śad vaksyasya mahabaho tatkarīṣyami putrakā | 3 23 23

Bhagadatta being defeated by Arjuna says to him

O son (child) with powerful arms, I shall do as you bid me

ślabhena tathasvasya parilapyami putrakā || 3 106 18

O son (grandson), I am also troubled at not getting back the horse (Sagara addresses his grandson Amsumān as *putrakā*—little son)

sāhyam kuruts putrakāh | 1 70 35

‘ O my sons give me help ’ (Yayati addresses all his sons)

The word *Ātmaja* is used for (1) son, for (2) son and daughter and for descendant in general

|| nam janayamasa Kal ndyam tem surātmajam || 1 90 28

“ Tamsu begot his son Iṇa by Kalindi

tau v h nau maya balau tvaya ca va mamātmajau |

v naśyetaṁ na samdehah || 1 146 20

These our young son and daughter (two children) will certainly die if they are left without you and me

sa iatha satkṛtaḥ sarvair Bhoja Vṛṣayandhakatmaja h || 1 210 19

" He was thus honoured by all the sons (descendants of the clans of Bhoja Vṛṣṇi and Andhaka "

The words *sūnu* and *tanaya* occur much less frequently than the above words. They are found to mean own son

na vārasam na tam nam napam *parasas tatha sukhaḥ |
sisoralingyamānasya sparśaḥ sūnau yatha sikhāḥ || 16855

The touch of clothes, of women and of waters is not as pleasant as the embrace of an infant son

sāśpa tanapī kruddho Yayāti tanayon aha | 514711

' Yayāti being enraged cursed even those sons '

The word *nandana* meaning 'one who gives joy' is used in this (1) original sense as also in the sense of (2) son and (3) descendant in general

apadyad aṣṭaḥ samkhye munim pratimukhaḥ galam
saktim namā mahā bhagam Vasiṣṭhakulanandanam
jyeṣṭha putrasatāt putram Vasiṣṭhasya mahatmanah | 1664

" The (king) unconquered in battle, saw coming in opposite direction the sage, called Śakti, the eldest of Vasiṣṭha's hundred sons and the joy of the race of Vasiṣṭhas

(2) dadāṣa kanyas tīṣa caiva Bhīṣmaḥ Śantanunandanah | 1965

Bhīṣma, the son of Śantanu, saw those maidens

tasminas tathā vartamāne kurudśārhanandanau |
sam pe jagmatuḥ kimcid uddesaṁ sumanoharam | 121426

" The two sons of the races of Kuru and Dāsārha (Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa) went to a certain beautiful spot

The word *dāyāda* which in Smṛti literature is used for those descendants, who have a share in the father's estate is used in the epic, purely as a synonym of words like *putra*, *tanaya* and *sūnu* meaning a son and (2) also rarely in its meaning of inheritor. *Dāyādyā* that which is inherited, also occurs

ayam sa putraḥ vjyāḥ putraḥ śyātī dharmas t |
yo naḥ aṣṭaḥ tva dāyādūn dharmena parakṣatā || 119917

“ Here comes back again, the tiger among men, and known of dharma
He will now protect us like his own sons ’

daśtūm hi Paṇḍu²dāyādāms tvaṁte kurvo bhīṣam | 1 198 21

‘ The people of Kuru are hastening to see the sons of Pāṇdu ’

In genealogical narratives we find the word *dāyāda* used simply as a synonym of putra

Sasada³ya tu dāyādāh Kakutāṣṭho nama vīryavan | 3 193 2

“ Śasada’s son was the famous Kakustha

Srāvastasya tu dāyādo Brhadasvo mahabalaḥ | 3 193 4

“ The son of Śrāvasta was the powerful Brhadasva

apareṇagnidāyadas tamracudam bhujenā sah |
mahakayam upasṛṣṭam kukkuṭam bal nam varāḥ
arh tva vyanadat || 3 214 23

That son of Agni, with his other hand held a huge, red-crested
crow and shouted ’

dāyadam matsyaraṣasya kule jātam manasv nam |
katham tvam nanditam karma karayeyam nṛpaṁmaja || 3 38 13

“ O son of a king you are the son of the king of Matsya, born of a noble
family and proud How can I make you do something which is
despicable ? ’

kaṁ yaṁ mama dāyādo jara yena dhṛta mama | 1 80 20

The younger one who has borne my old age is my heir

ime vaḥ bandhudāyādāḥ aḥ putra dharmadarsane |
sadevabandhudāyādāḥ putrams taṁ sṛṇu me pṛthe || 1 111 27

According to our law books these six sons are *bandhudāyāda*
There are other six (kinds of) sons which are not *bandhu dāyāda* (In
this verse sons who are *dāyāda* are set against sons who are not *dāyāda*
For detailed discussion on this see part 2nd of this paper pp 123-148)

eṣa Paṇḍor dāyād jānī vadī prapnoti Paṇḍavaḥ |

tasya putro dhṛuṣaṁ prapṛtāḥ tasya tasyeti cāparāḥ || 1 129 15

" If the Pāṇḍava (Dharma) gets this inheritance from Pāṇḍu, then his son and after him his son will surely get it "

sa rāja tasya te putrah pitur *dāyād* jahangah |

nu tīta kalaham karāṣi rāṇasyārdham pradāyatam || 5143 37

" He was the king These are his sons, and as such entitled to the inheritance Son do not seek a quarrel Give them half of this kingdom "

Dāraka means a child or a son. In dual it may mean the son and daughter

anvesyāmīha bhartaram aham pretavaśam gṛham |

uttīṣṭha tvam viśṛjyamam smaraṁ rakṣasva *dārakān* || 1116 24

I shall follow the departed husband, leave him, get up and take care of these sons.

mama jñātisu niksīṣya *dārakau* śyandanam tula |

asvāmī cemaṁ yatha kṛnam vasa va nyatra gaccha va || 357 18

' Deposit these two children (the son and the daughter) at my father's house Deposit also the chariot and the horses there and then and stay there or go elsewhere according to your pleasure '

The word *kumāra* is used for a son or a child, but connotes " boy " rather than son

idaṁ jitam idam labdhvam itī strutva parajetaṁ |

dhṛtākale maharāja smavase sma *kumāravat* || 535 10

" When you heard the words, ' this is won ', this is obtained and knew them to be defeated at the time of the dice-play you laughed like a boy "

tatīḥ samabhaṣat Droṇaḥ *kumāras* tasya dhṛimataḥ | 1545

" Then was born Droṇa his son "

teṣāṁ *kumārāḥ* sarveṣāṁ pūrveṣu mama jñātṛe

kanya tu mama jñeyam | 1207 20

" To all my ancestors were born sons (boys) But to me was born this daughter (girl) "

BROTHER'S SON (MAN SPEAKING)

The words *putra* and *suta* are used. See above.

BROTHER'S SON (WOMAN SPEAKING).

No special term is found. Kṛṣṇa is Kuntī's brother's son, but he is not addressed by any kinship term

SISTER'S SON (MAN SPEAKING)

Two words *bhāgineya* and *svasṛīya* are used. They are used everywhere with reference to a man's sisters' son.

taś cāpy uktāḥ bhāgineyaḥ prasannaḥ

īpitam sarvaśaś te kartāraḥ sma pravāṇa bhāgineya 1 53 21

(The Nāgas say to Āstika the son of their sister Jaratkāru) "The nephew was spoken to by them. O nephew (sister's son) we shall do what you please."

Abhimanyuḥ Subhadrāyām Arjunadebhyaḥ yata

svasṛīyo Vāsudevasya ॥ 1.57.100

"Abhimanyu, the nephew of Vāsudeva, was born of Subhadrā to Arjuna."

Kṛpāḥ Śāradvatāś caiva yata ete trayas tāraḥ |

Droṇam ca bhāgineyam ca na sa tyakṣyati karṣit ॥ 1.130.17

"Kṛpa, the son of Śāradvata will side with these three. He is never likely to leave Drona and his nephew."

vadhvaḥ putrā bhāgineyā bhagīnyo |

dauhitrā kvacid apy avyalyakḥ ॥ 5.23.14

"The daughters-in-law, the sons, the nephews (sister's son) the sisters and daughter's son—are they all in good health."

bhāgineyān nityam tyaktvī Śalyas te rathasattamāḥ |

eṣa yotsyati.... ॥ 5.162.27

"Leaving his own sister's son, the great chariot-fighter Śalya will fight (with you)."

bhāgineyaḥ te v'raḥ sa kṛtsyati saṁgare |

sumahatkarma.... ॥ 5.119.1.

Suta is used for daughter. It is found compounded with the name of a country or a people to denote the princess of that country. Draupadī is mentioned as *Pāncala-sutā* i.e. the daughter of the country of Pancala (5 191 3) and Ambā is mentioned as *Kāśī sutā* i.e. the princess of Kāśī. The word *ātmajā* is also used for daughter. The words *tanaya* and *tanūjā* are used but rarely. The word *putrī* occurs in compound as *Rāja putrī* meaning king's daughter (1 200 15) or *guru-putrī* meaning the daughter of the preceptor (1 72 7, 17). It is used uncompounded extremely rarely in this sense e.g. *Analayāh Śukī puttī* 1 60 66. Śukī is the daughter of Analā.

In the vocative it is used also as a term of address for the daughter-in-law.

Śukra uvaca—Bhīṣṇa putrah sutah putrī kaccāḥ 1 retagatim gatah 1 71 32

Sukra said. O daughter. Kaca the son of Bhāṣpati is dead.

vyatī tam mam ca sampreksya pṛtvaṁśam ca pīḍitam

Bhīṣṇo buddh madan me dya dharmasya ca vṛddhaye |

sa ca buddhā tavadh na putrī jñātam mayeti ha | 1 99 46 47

Seeing my sorrow and seeing the plight of the race of his father Bhīṣma has given me counsel in order to maintain dharma. O daughter-in-law (putrī) the success of the advice rests with you. (Said by Satyawatī to Ambikā.)

jīva putrī sutas te yam Dharmaṁ tva Yudhīṣṭhiraḥ |

sarvan prasṛṣṭyati || 1 144 13

"May you live (long) daughter-in-law (putrī) this son of yours Yudhīṣṭhira, born of Dharma will rule all" (Said by Vyāsa to Kuntī)

putrī kasya śa sangasya vedasyādhyāyanasvab || 1 167 13

'Daughter(in law) whose is this voice repeating all the Vedas? (Said by Vasiṣṭha to Adrṣṭyanti also 1 168 1)

The word *putrikā* is most often used in a very technical sense and denotes a daughter who is destined to give over her son as an heir to her father. An only daughter is very often given in marriage to a man on his promising that he gives the first male offspring or all children of the union as heirs to his father-in-law, in which case it is supposed to

bear the name of his maternal grand-father. In the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* however at three places in the same *adhyāya* the word *putrikā* is used simply for girl or daughter.

tāḥ sarvās tv anavadvāṅgyah kanyāḥ lamalalocanāḥ |
putrikāḥ sthāpayāmsa naṣṭaputrāḥ prajāpatih || 160 ||

"All those daughters of faultless beauty and of lotus like eyes were established as *putrikās* by the *prajāpati* who sons had perished." (See also 1.2.209).

Citrāṅgadā, the daughter of the king of Manalurpura, was a *putrikā* daughter as her son from Arjuna inherited her father's kingdom.

This concept of *putrikā* —daughters and the actual examples of such a practice in the epic raise a number of interesting questions from the point of view of the study of social institutions and culture contact. These are discussed in detail in part II of this paper.

The word *putrikā* is used simply to mean daughter in the *Āraṇyaka Parvan*, and used once for grand-daughter as a mode of address where it is comparable to the diminutive *putrakā*

Brhaspates Cāndramasī bhāryabhīd yā yasvini |
 agniḥ sājanayat puṇyān sadakām cāpi *putrikām* 32091

"Brhaspati's wife was the illustrious Cāndramasī. She gave birth to six holy fires and one daughter."

Bharatas tu sutas tasya Bharatī ekā ca *putrikā* 32092

"Bharata was the son and Bharatī was the only daughter."

Krodhasya tu rasa jānī manyate cātha *putrikā* 32093

To Krodha was born Rasa and daughter *Mānini*

As sons are mentioned in all these passages *putrikā* is simply a synonym for *putrī* and cannot have any special meaning.

mā gāḥ putrgrham bhadre mānuṣe te pāṇiḥ kṛmāḥ |
 duḥkham chetsyāmi te'ham vaḥ mātṛm *putrikā* 32094

"Do not go to your father's house. I am your mother's father. I shall remove all your sorrow. Be advised by me one."

The word *Kanyā* means generally (1) a maiden—an unmarried virgin girl, (2) a daughter or a girl and (3) is used as a girl or a kinship term

sa dadarśa tada kanyāṁ dāśanām devārūpāṁ
tam aprcchat kanyā t am aśi la caś || 19443
sabravit kanyāṁ sm | 19444

He saw the beautiful daughter of the fisherfolk. He asked her whose art thou? Who art thou? She said I am a maiden (This reply is to the question whose art thou? When she says she is a maiden (*kanya*) she says that she does not belong to anyone : e is still to be married)

athapāśya kanyāṁ 3 19010
tam abrav d rāja kanyāḥ subhage tvam
aṁ prtyuvaca kanyā smut
tam rājovaca arthi t ayaḥam t 14

He then saw a girl. The king asked auspicious one! whose art thou? She replied I am a maiden. The king said to her I desire you.

In the same way *kanyotva* and *kanyabhava* mean maidenhood or virginity just as *kanyā* means a virgin.

kanyāṁ dāśaṁ katham sakṣey dvijottama
gantum grāham || 15762
r sātīamāḥ uvaca mātṛ r yam kṛtvā kanyāṁ t a tvam bhav syasi || 15763

O best among brahmins! how can I go home with my virginity lost? The sage replied You shall become (remain) a virgin even after yielding to my wishes (The reference is to Satyawati and Parasara) ²

(2) *Kanya* is used simply to mean a girl or a daughter without any emphasis on maidenhood.

(b) *kanyap* trtvat k m c t tu vakṣyāmi bhāratarābha |
balavat sapatnatam atra doṣam paśyam kevalam || 19474

²This curious idea of coitus without loss of virginity appears at other places in the critical text. Kunti and Savitṛ (Sun) when Kunti gives birth to Karna without loss of virginity. Draupadī also during the period of marriage to the five brothers one after the other became as a virgin at the end of each day (19014)

"O, bull among the Bharatas, I being the father of the girl wish to speak something to you. In this arrangement the only drawback I see is that of rivalry with step-brothers."

In the Udyoga Parvan Dharma sends his love to all the daughters living in Hastināpura. Here the word *kanyā* is used as a kinship term, the other loving messages being given to sons, daughters-in-law etc. As there is no record of the Pāṇḍavas having any daughters, *kanyā* is used here in a classificatory sense and refers to all the girls born of the Kaurava brothers. Dharma also mentions the husbands of these *kanyās*. So in this context *kanyā* does not mean a virgin but simply a daughter of the great Kaurava clan of which the Pāṇḍavas were members.

kanyāḥ svajethāḥ sadāneṣu Saṁjaya
anumayam madhvacanena pṛṣṭvā
kāḥānā vāḥ santu patayo'nukūlā
yūyam patinīm bhavatānukūlāḥ 5.30.35

"Embrace the daughters and enquire after their health, O Śaṁjaya, on my behalf. May they be agreeable and auspicious to their husbands and may their husbands be good to them."

me kanyām svabhṛjārthe mohad yucitavan asi 5.190.22

"You asked the hand of my daughter for your daughter through folly."

katham Śikhandī Gāṅgeya kanyā bhṛtvā puruṣo'bhavadnyadhi .. 5.189.1.

"Son of Ganges! how was it that Śikhandī who was born as a girl became a man in battle."

There are also compound words like *Drupada-kanyā*, *Pannagesvara-kanya* where the word *kanyā* is used as a kinship term to mean daughter and they mean e.g. Drupada's daughter, the daughter of the king of the snakes etc.

The word *kanyakū* means the same as *kanyā* but is used rarely. It means a girl or a daughter.

mā uḥ kulam pṛṣṭvā kulam yataḥ caiva pṛadhyate
kṛtāram samavṛṣṭam kṛtate kṛtāḥ satīm 5.95.14

"A daughter brings into disrepute her father's house, her mother's house and also the family into which she is given as a bride."

The word *kumari* is used for (a) a young virgin, (b) for a girl or a daughter without reference to age or virginity.

dl ruvam na rocet bharatarabhasya |
patib kumar a iva vatsivarsab || 3615

Surely this (good advice) is not liked by the king of the Bharatas just as a husband sixty years old is not liked by a young virgin

aham asat ta rajan k ma p tur a rime | 16870

Sakuntala says O king I an inexperienced maiden was found by you at my father's cottage

utpadya p tra i ngtamas co kri
rit na c t e l h y n idl a y r k a n c t |
s ha e l m a h i rat jedyr sar a |
ay am tho m a l l l u get 53735

After giving birth to sons finding some means of livelihood for them after marrying off the daughters to proper husbands then may one like an ascetic take up residence in forest

la mani anam s lena voksyamy ahim arimdamam | 19482

I am speaking this from the anxiety felt by a girl's parents—as the father of a daughter

The word *nandini* (the joy-giver) is used twice as a term of address for a daughter in the Āranyaka Parvan

janam pten dhanam te balvat prabhrti and n || 328719

O daughter (*nandini*) I know from your childhood'

evam etat tvaya bhadre kart yam av ankaya |
maddh tartham kulartham ca tathatmartham ca nand n | 328811

You should do this without any fear for my sake for the good of the family and for your own good O daughter'

DAUGHTER OF BROTHER OR SISTER

For brother's daughter and sister's daughter no words are found in the text. Sister's daughter is called by a woman the descriptive term *bhāgīnyā duhita* at one place

bhāgīnyā d hīta me s p plunanaena suc ta | 36612

The queen-mother of Cedi says to Damayanti—"You are revealed by this birth mark, as my sister's daughter."

SON'S SON

The son's son is called *pautra* and *naptr*, the descriptive word *putraj* (born of the son) is also used. The word *pautra* is also used in a classificatory sense to include brother's son's son. Expression in which the words *putra* and *pautra* and *naptr* come together or are coupled in a compound occur very often.

Sātyaki is often referred to as Śini's grandson e.g.

Śinē naptā 3 19 19

Śinēh pautram 5 118 20

putrapautrān pasum caiva vetsyase | 3 78 13

"You will be in possession of sons, grandsons and cattle."

na me putro bhaved idrk kāmam pautro bhavediti 3 115 27

"Let not my son be like this, let my grandson be so."

rajyam tad etan nikhilam Pandavānam putāmaham putrapautrānugātri 1 46 32

"This whole kingdom belongs to the Pāṇdavas. It has come down from the ancestors and is inherited in the direct male line from the son to the grandson."

sa tvam kuru tatha tāta svamatena pitamaha

yatha jivanti te pautrāḥ pritiṃantaḥ paraspṛam 5 31 10

"O grandfather (grand-uncle) act in your own wisdom in such a way that your grandsons will live amicably with one another" (This is said by Dharma to Bhīṣma and the grandsons are grandnephews as the Dhārtarāṣṭras and Pāṇdavas were the sons of the sons of the brother of Bhīṣma)

ye caivānye kurumukhyā yuvanaḥ putrah pautrā bhrātara caiva ye nah |

yam jam eṣām yena yen-bhigaccher anṛṇavam madhavanena vācyah 2 30 22

"And all those others, chief among the younger Kurus, those who are our sons, grandsons and brothers, each one of them you should convey greetings from me." (Dharmarāja is giving messages of friendship to all the members of the kingly house of Hastināpura. The sons,

grandsons and brothers referred to here are, the nephews (cousin's children) their sons and cousins respectively)

SON'S DAUGHTER

The word *pautrī* (son's daughter) is not found in the Critical Edition.

Dauhitrējam mama Vibho Kōsiraṣasuta priyā 5 175 15

DAUGHTER'S SON AND DAUGHTER

For the daughter's son and daughter, the words *dauhitra* and *dauhitri* are used

Arēvatakule j-stah Sumukho noma Nāgaraj

Āryakasya mataḥ pautro dauhitro Vāmanasya ca || 5 101 23

"This Sumukha, a king of the Nagas, the son's son of Āryaka and the daughter's son of Vāmana"

"This is my dear grand-daughter (= daughter's daughter), the daughter of the King of Kāśi"

Terminology for Kinship by Marriage

FATHER'S BROTHER'S WIFE

She is called *mātr* or mother (see page 61) For the following relations no terms have occurred so far in the Mbh (in the first five Parvans).

FATHER'S SISTER'S HUSBAND, MOTHER'S SISTER'S HUSBAND, MOTHER'S BROTHER'S WIFE, WIFE'S SISTER, HUSBAND'S SISTER, SISTER'S HUSBAND, HUSBAND'S BROTHER'S WIFE, BROTHER'S WIFE (woman speaking).

FATHER-IN-LAW

For father-in-law the terms used are *śvaśura* and *ārya* These terms are applied not only to husband's father but to the brother of the husband's father and generally to all men whom the husband calls father and grandfather. Thus it is used in a classificatory way and includes all men of the husband's clan who are one generation or more

The honoured one (here the own father is referred to in this way by Kuntī) gave me, who was but a child, playing with you with a ball, to Kuntibhoja.

MOTHER-IN-LAW.

Śvaśrū and *āryā* are the words used for the mother-in-law by a woman. In the text so far published the word is not used for the husband's uncle's wife or for the wife's mother.

ye ca dharmā kuṣumbheṣu *śvaśrū* me kathitaḥ purā ..
tān sarva-nanuvartimī || 3 222.32

" I follow all the rules of behaviour (traditions) of this family, which were told me formerly by my mother-in-law "

nityam *āryām* aham kuntim . |
svayam paricarāmy ekam snānācch-danabhojanaib || 3 333 38

" Always do I wait personally on Kuntī, the honoured one, with respect to things concerning her bath, clothes and meals "

purāḥ sūptānupādhiḥśid bilakān vāraṇāsvate |
sayanān *āryayā* sārḍham.. . || 3 13 78

" Again, did he burn the children sleeping by the side of the honoured one at the city of Vāranāvata." (Draupadi while speaking about her mother-in-law generally uses the term *āryā*).

HUSBAND.

The terms for husband are *pati*, *bhartṛ*, *nātha* and *vara*. First three terms are used also in the sense of lord and master without any kinship connotation.

pañca te *patayaḥ* śreṣṭhī bhaviṣyanti || 1.189 44

" You shall get five excellent husbands."

mahatīm caiva bhūtānām sarveṣām ita yān *patib* |
bhagavān sa mahīteṣṭ.....pāvakaḥ || 3 212.3.

" He who is the master and lord of all great forces is the luminous lord Pāvaka."

Also in innumerable expressions like *nadanadīpati* (3.267.35) (The lord of rivers, great and small), *Kurūnām pati* (3.173.20 The lord of the Kurus), *prajānām pati* (Lord of the living) etc. 1.1.31.

The word has no kinship connotation

The expression *patiloka* occurs a few times with slightly different meanings each time

putralokāḥ *patilokān* vṛṇa na satyav dīni |
priyaṁ putraṁ paritṛyaṣya Paṇḍavaṁ anvapadyata || 5 68 43

"The truthful one choosing to share the fate of her husbands (*patiloka*) rather than that of her sons, left her beloved sons and has followed the Pandavas "

yatkṛte duḥkhaśat m im m prāpta smi śaśvat m |
pat loḥād viḥ na ca naiva strī na puṁ n iha || 5 168 4

"Through him (Bhīṣma) have I reached this eternally pitiable state I am deprived of wifehood (deprived of the condition of having a husband) I am neither man nor maid "

sa gata saha tenaiva *pat loḥam* anuvrata |
tasy a tasya ca yat kṛyam kṛyat m tad anantaram || 1 177 29

"She has followed her husband in death, their death ceremonies may be performed soon "

bhartr also means husband and lord or master. The expression *bhartṛloka* parallel to *patiloka* also occurs

ipsitāś ca guṇaḥ strīṇāṁ ekasya bahu *bhartṛta* |
tām ca prīṭhavatī Kṛṣṇā na sa bhedayitum sakhā || 1 194 8

"Women covet the condition of being the one wife of many husbands Kṛṣṇa has obtained it and so it is not easy to create disaffection in her mind "

vajrasya *bhartr*a bhuvanasya goptā || 1 3 151

"The holder ($\sqrt{\text{bhr}}$ to hold) of the thunderbolt, the protector of the world "

Yudh ī h ro rājaputro mahatmā |
sa kauravasyāṁśya paṇasya *bhartr*ā || 5 147 31

"Yudhiṣṭhira the great prince is the master and protector of the Kuru people "

prap dhīyendriyaḥ samā *bhartṛlekṣaṇ*yaḥ |
tyaktakṛmasukhe hy āvāṁ tapasyāro vipulāṁ tapāḥ || 1 110 27
MO-JI Bk Y 62-11a

The word *nātha* is used less frequently and only rarely does it have a purely kinship connotation meaning husband. In its negative form *anātha* it occurs oftener and invariably means "one without protection". In the following stanza there is a play on these two senses of the word *nātha*.

nādhyaḡacchat tadā *nātham* kṛṣṇa *nāthavatī* anti || 5 88 86 and 5 135 18

"At that time Kṛṣṇā though possessed of *nāthas* (husbands), possessed no *nātha* (protector) "

Pāṇḍavānām bhavaṇ *nātho* bhavaṇtam cōsritā vaya || 2 18 9

"You are the protector of Pāṇḍavas and we are your dependents "

The word *vara* is used in the sense of bridegroom or suitor

yauvanasthām tu tam dṛṣṭva svam autām devapurīṇam |
ayōcyamānam ca *varaḥ* nṛpatir duḥkhito bhavat || 3 277 17

"Seeing that his daughter of heavenly beauty had reached youth without being sought by suitors, the king became sad "

dṛṣṭasya granthir anivartaniyah svakarmapā vihitam neha kimcit |
kṛtam nimittam hi *vara*kahetoḥ |
tadevedam upaṇnam bahunām || 1 190 2

It is not possible to unravel the knot of Fate

"There is nothing here which can be decided by one's own actions. This ceremony was intended to find out one bridegroom for the daughter and has resulted in her getting many."

nirīśyamaneṣu tu sā *pareḡa* saravaraṇī |
varān utkrāmya sarveṣu tan vanam vṛtavatī *varam* || 5 118.5

"While the beautiful one was being shown her suitors, she set them aside and chose the forest as her husband (groom)".

The words *bhāryāpati*, *dampatī* are used for the husband and wife together.

tāmś tām deḡan vicinvantau *dampatī* paṇjagmatuḥ | 3 282.3

"The husband and wife wandered about exploring various regions (of the forest)."

bhāryāpati tam asīnam *prāṇalī* tasthatus tada || 3 115.20

The *jāyā* (wife) gives birth to the son, who is but the divided self (of his father)". The concept occurs again in the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* (13.62). From this definition it would seem that the *jāyā* is any woman from whom a man begets a son and by this act she lays claims to wifehood.

The word *kalatra* is used always in the neuter gender. It occurs but rarely in the text and has perhaps not the same exalted sense that the word *patnī* has. It may have even a slightly derogatory sense like the words *das Weib* and *die Weiber* in German. It means the womenfolk

pīḍayā ca *kalatraya* bhṛtyānām ca samāhṛtāḥ |

atīkṛtyā prayacchanti santaḥ sadbhūḥ samāgatāḥ || 3.198.85

"Pious people when approached by deserving men, give away (alms) even beyond their means, even if it entails misery to their wives and dependents."

sa dadarśa . nānam Vṛṣṇīkalatrāṇām || 1.222.27

"He saw the destruction of the womenfolk of the Vṛṣṇī clan."

The word *dāra* is masculine in gender and is used always in plural. It is used very often in the text as a synonym for *patnī*. Expressions like *dāragrahaṇa*, *dārasaṅgraha*, *dāraḥkriyā*, *dārasambandha*, (1.13.223; 1.13.23; 1.13.27 and 5.170.8; 1.187.22) are used for the act of marriage.

yah sādāraḥ sa viśvāsyāḥ || 1.68.43

"One who is married (is with a wife) is to be trusted."

The words (1) *sahadharminī*, (2) *sahadharmacarī*, and (3) *grāhastha-bhāginī* are not real kinship terms. They are descriptive terms which give a description of what a wife is supposed to be and mean respectively, 1 and 2 sharer in the duties and 3 sharer in the life as a householder.

prasthitaḥ *sahadharmanya* mahatuyā daityasanyayā || 1.202³

"They (two) started on their war with the great Daitya-army, as with a wife." (The army of a warrior equated to his wife is a device which we

³. aṥamam abhyayub sarvā devasenāḥ sahasraśaḥ |

aṥamkam tvam potur iti bruvānah sarvato di am |

"They saw the little attendant, the maidservant of their beloved crying," (the expression *presyavadhū* is on par with expressions like *pauravadhū* etc. and is used as a synonym of *strī*, i. e. woman to mean womanservant) no woman in the story is mentioned as the wife of so and so by using the term *vadhū*.

The words *dayita* and *dayitā* which occur in classical literature as substantives in the sense of the beloved or husband and wife⁴ are used in the critical text as adjectives only. Only in one place the word *dayitā* may be translated to mean wife but for the particular verse it is not necessary as it can be equally easily taken as an adjective of the substantive *mātr* following it. The verse is given below

vākyam āha narādhipaḥ |
pāñcālaja dayitām mātaram vai Śikhandinah || 519112

"The king of Pāñcāla said to the beloved mother of Śikhandin"
(it may also be translated as—said to his beloved, the mother of Śikhandin).

CO-WIFE.

The co-wife is called *sapatnī*. *Sapatnatā* or *sāpatnaḥ* is originally any relationship which involves rivalry owing to being step-brothers or co-wives but may be used generally for rivalry. *Sapatna* is a rival, *asapatna* is a man or a thing without rival and these two expressions are used without any kinship connotation.

Pāṇduruvāca iyam te sapatny anapatyā || 19070

"Pāṇdu said (to Kuntī), "here is your co-wife childless"

kanyāpitṛtvāt kimcid tu vakṣyāmi bharatarājāha |
balavatsapatnatām atra doṣam paśyāmi kevalam || 19474

"Being the father of a daughter I wish to speak something. O bull among Bharatas. In this (alliance) the only fault I see is the rivalry with a powerful one." (Bhīṣma is feared as the powerful step brother of the future children to be born of Satyawatī and Śantanu).

na strapām vidyate kimcid anyatra puruṣāntarāt |
sāpatnaḥam ite loke bhavitavyam hi tattathā || 122426

⁴. Devayānīm ca dayitām autām tasya mahātmanah 17113

'Devayani, the beloved daughter of the great Guru',

Duhitur napaṣam soḥham śaktoham dayitā hi me 1758

'I am not able to bear any harm done to my daughter, as I love her dearly'

' In this world there is nothing else for women but to accept the position of a co-wife unless they choose to go to another man. That is destiny "

asamsate Dhrtaraṣṭrasya putro |

maharajyam asapatnam prthivyam | 5 90 22

" Dhrtarāstra's son desires to have unrivalled rule over this earth "

sasvaje cavadat pr ta n hapatno stu te patib ||

" She embraced her and said ' May your husband be without rivals ' "

A woman who has been betrothed to another is called *anyapūrvā* or *parapūrvā* it being implied that such a woman has had access to another man. The princess Amba is refused as *anyopūrvā* or *parapūrvā* both by Bhīṣma and Saubha Śālva

tam abravīt Śalvapatib smayann iva v ḥ m pate

tvaṣa n apūrvāṇā maham bhāryarthe varavarṇini | 5 172 4

The king of Śālvas as if smiling said to her, ' O beautiful lady, I do not wish to have as wife you, who have belonged to another ' "

katham asmadv dho rāja parapūrvām praveśayet || 5 172 7

" How can a king like me admit a woman who belonged to another ? "

BROTHER'S WIFE

Brother's wife (man speaking) is mentioned by the descriptive term *bhrātrdāra* or is called *bhrātur bhāryā*

yayiyasas tava bhrāturbhārye surasutopame | 1 97 34

" There are these two wives of heavenly beauty, of your younger brother "

avācam bhrātrdāreṣu tadā Vyāsam mahimam m | 5 142 34

" I begged the favour of the great sage Vyāsa for my brother's wives "

The word *dāra* which is always used in plural is used once in the dual in the text

dāraṁ v yasya c āveta n kṣāhṛtājāmbhīnab

(vā) | 1 v apat nīṣṭ an car te po nī 23323

The word *jñātibhōryō* occurs once and means the wife of an agnate relation. The position of a *jñātibhōryō* is fixed. She is wife of one, can act as wife of certain others—is mother to some, daughter-in-law to others. She cannot be degraded the way Draupadī was degraded.

kaś cānyo jñātibhōryām vai viprakartum taihārhati |
ānya ca sabhām vaktum yathoktā Draupadī tvaya || 5.126.28.

"Who but you could have insulted and wronged the wife of an agnatic relative in the way you did by bringing Draupadī in the open assembly, and by speaking to her as you did."

DAUGHTER-IN-LAW.

The daughter-in-law is called *vadhū* and *snusā*. In more than one passage she is equated to the daughter. Son's wife and brother's son's wife are called by the word *vadhū* or *snusā*. Even more distant cousin's sons' wives are termed daughters-in-law. And so the word is used in a classificatory sense.

yathā ca tvabhinandimī vadho adya kṣaumasatmyam |
tathā bhūyo bhinandiṣye śtāputrām guṇinvitām || 1.191.12

"O daughter-in-law, as I am congratulating and blessing you in these your rich marriage dress, so may I once again congratulate you as the virtuous mother of sons." (Kuntī addressing Draupadī).

vadhūnām hi vīśiṣṭā me tvam dharmaparamā satī || 2.63.27

"You who act according to dharma distinguish yourself among my daughters-in-law." (Dhṛtarāṣṭra says this to the wife of his brother's sons).

tiṣṭhanti ceme kuravaḥ anbhūyām idāh autānām ca tathā snusānām || 2.60.45

"In this assembly are the Kuru men, masters over their sons and daughters-in-law" (Draupadī is here addressing all the elder generation of Kurus as her fathers-in-law).

tvam hi sarvasnusāṇām me śreyaś dharmacārini | 2.63.36.

"You who act according to Dharma are the best among my daughters-in-law" (Dhṛtarāṣṭra says this to Draupadī, the wife of his brother's sons).

In the following passages the daughter-in-law is placed in the same category as the daughter. The daughter-in-law is addressed as *putri* (cf. above) as we have already seen.

mṛṣyante kuravaś ceme manje kālasya paryayam |
 snuṣūṁ duhitaram caiva klīḍyamānām anarhatīm || 2.627

"I consider this as a sign of (decadent) times that the men of the Kuru race allow their daughter-in-law who is like a daughter, to be harrassed when she is innocent."

prāpya dakṣiṇam ūruṁ me tvam kṣīṣṭā varāṅgane |
 apatyānām snuṣūṇām ca bhuru vidhy etad āsanam || 1.929

"O beautiful woman, you have come and taken possession of my right thigh. That is the place for children (sons and daughters) and the daughters-in-law."

The word *pra-snuṣā* occurs once and means wives of grand-sons or great-grandsons.

snuṣṭā ca prasnūṣṭā caiva Dhṛtarāṣṭrasya saṁgatāḥ
 hatavārā hatasutā hatanīhitā ca || 5.139.50

"The daughters-in-law and the grand-daughters-in-law of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, their masters and husbands and sons having been killed (weeping with Gāndhārī).

SON-IN-LAW.

The son-in-law is called *jāmātṛ*.

sa ca maṇḍūkārājō jāmātarāṁ anuṣṅpya yath'ṛṣṭam agacchat || 3.100.42

"The frog king took his leave of his son-in-law and went the way he had come."

BROTHER OF HUSBAND OR WIFE.

Husband's brother is *deuṛ* and wife's brother is *syāla* or *syāla*.

ity ukṭā sū pr-nodatī puryaśāṅkata deuṛoraḥ |
 hetā vai strīṇaḥ syāna sūtrāḥ-santṛābhīḥ-śreṇam || 5.32.25

" When spoken to thus she wept loudly and being overcome by the faults (like small mindedness etc) inherent in feminine nature began to suspect her virtuous brother-in-law "

yo yam rajño Virāṭasya Kīcako nama Bharata |
senanī puruṣavyāghra sṛṅgāḥ paramadurmatib || 4177

" O Bhārata tiger among men ' This Kīcaka who is the head of Virata's armies and who is also his brother-in-law (said to me, " be my wife ')

Certain kinship terms denote a whole class of relations There are *guru bandhu, bāndhava, jnāti sambandhin, janya* and *āpta*

Guru is not a kinship term in its usual meaning, which is the teacher or preceptor but it is often times used to denote all people or any person older than oneself in the immediate family circle Thus an elder brother is a *guru* to a younger brother The father-in-law, the mother-in-law, the wives of the elder brothers-in-law, the father, the mother etc are all regarded and referred to as *guru*

guror anupraveśo hi nopagṛhīto yavīyasab |
yavīyaso nupraveśo jyeṣṭhasya vidhulopakab || 120527

" Entry of a younger after the elder is not censurable, while entry of the older after the younger is a breach of duty on the part of the older "

gururāṭ pūjyaśmeṣa kāmā cit kāmā cit vayasāvāt |
kāmā c d abhyavadat prempa kṛṣṇā cid apy abhivāditab || 121339

' He greeted some with greetings worthy of elders—greeted others as contemporaries bowed to some with love and revered in turn by some "

kṣāntam eva mayā rājan gurur naḥ paramo bhavaṇ | 3721

" O king ' I have already forgiven you You are our highest Guru " (You are the eldest of us all)

Ime sabhāyam upadīstasāstrab |
gurusthānab guravaś caiva sarve |
tesāṃ agre notsahr sthātum eva || 26029

" I fear to stand in front of all those elders versed in the traditional lore—all these elderly relatives who are sitting in the assembly."

Dhrtarāstraśramapadam Vidurāś ca jagāma ha 1.2.212

yam dṛṣṭvā prasthitam sādhvī Pṛthīpy anuyayau tadā

putrārāpyam pantiyāya gururūśrūṣave ratā 1.2.213

" Dhrtarāstra and Vidura went to the forest. Seeing this the good Kuntī always bent on serving the elders, followed them, leaving the kingdom of her sons."

prayatnāś ca gurū vṛddhau suśrūṣe'ham dvijottama 3.198.20

' O best of Brahmins, I make every effort to serve my two old gurus (parents) '

bhartāro vāsagī mahyam gururūśrūṣaṇena ca 3.222.37

nityam ājyām aham Kuntīm, . svayam pancarāmy ekā 3.222.38

" My husbands abide by my will because I always serve the elders of the family. I myself without any help attend to the wants of the revered mother-in-law Kuntī."

mama bhāryā tava gururiti Sunda bhyabhāṣata

mama bhāryā tava vadhūr Upasunda bhyabhāṣata 1.204.16

Sunda said, " She is my wife and your guru (to be revered as an elder). " Upasunda replied, " She is my wife and therefore your daughter-in-law "

The words *bandhu* and *bāndhava* are generally used in plural and where they are used in singular they are often times used in a collective sense. They both mean " a relative " either on the mother's side or father's side. They refer to any person who is in any way related in a bilateral family.

In some passages the word *bandhu* may be construed to mean friend, but as all friends were bound by ties of relationship ultimately a friend meant a relation. On the other hand in certain passages *bandhu* is distinguished from friend as a mere relative.

ātmaiva hy ātmano bandhū ātmaiva i gur ātmanah 5.34.62.

One self is one's own kin and one's own enemy.

yadi ced apy anubandho mātṛabhāṇena vartate

sa eva bandhū itan mātṛān sī garib tat pe-śyacari 5.36.35

"He who acts like a friend even when unrelated, is a real kin, a real friend, is the refuge and highest good."

śrutvaiva tat karma nīyantrum ātmā śakyaa tvyā va saha bāndhavana 5 61 8.

(Bhīṣma to Karna) "On even hearing of that deed you should with your kin (friends?) restrain yourself"

aholābhakaram dinam alpaḥ vanam alpakam

nedṛṣṭva bandhum āśādyā bāndhavāḥ sukham edhate 5 131 25

"The kindred do not get any happiness through a relation or through relations who are satisfied with small things, who live petty lives and are mean and petty"

Karṇo vaikartanas tava mantri neta ca bandhus ca 5 165 4

"Karna, the son of Vīkartaṇa, is your adviser, leader and kin (Genosse)."

tiṣṭhate hi auhṛd yatra na bandhus tatra tiṣṭhate 5 104 6

"A friend stands by you in situations where a kindred turns away."

tathā bandhustēṣāṃ api vidhavānāṃ ca vittiṇaḥ hariṣyantiha mēnavaḥ 3 188 30

"Also, people will rob the money of even those widows who have kindred."

sarve te priyam icchanti bāndhavāḥ ahasanījayaiḥ 3 36 15

'All your kin together with Sṛñjayas wish well of you.'

na tasyāśvo na ca ratho na bhrāta na ca bāndhavāḥ

vane nivasatā rājan śiṣyante sma kadācana 3 49 41

"To him living in the forest were not left (he was not allowed to have) the horse, the chariot, the brother or the kinsmen."

The words *bāndhu* and *bāndhava* are well illustrated in the following verses from the *Adīparvan*, 145th Chapter.

yalitam vai mayā pūrvam yathā tvam vettha brāhmanī

yataḥ ksemaṃ tato gantum tasyā nu meṃ na śrutam 26

īha jātā vivṛddhī'smi pitā ccha mameti ca

uktavaty aśi durmedhe yacyamānā mayāśakt 27

destroyed When one who is not an agnatic relation, challenges the family, that seizure is not brooked by good men

dhumayante vyapetāṇi jvalanti sah tani ca
Dhrtaraṣṭrolmukṣaniva jñatayo bharatarābha 5.36.58

‘ O Dhrtarastra, best among Bharatas, the agnatic relations are like sticks used for firebrand They smoke when separated but burn clearly when bound together ’

mahān apy ekajo vṛkṣah balavaṇ supratisth taḥ
prasahya eva vatena sakhāskandham vimard tum 3.35.60
atha ye sah ta vṛkṣāḥ samgha nḥ suprat sthitāḥ
te hi sigrhataṁṇaṇ vatan sahante nyonyasamsrayat 5.36.61
anyonyasamupaśṭhambhād anyonyapāsrayeṇa ca
jñālayah sampravardhante saras velpalāṇy uta 5.36.63

‘ A mighty tree deep-rooted if standing alone can be destroyed by a stormy wind but trees which stand well clustered can withstand even the strongest wind by sheltering one another In the same way by mutual help and trust does a family (agnatic relationship) grow like lotuses in a pond ’

yo jñātim prat ghanati dandram dinam aturam
sa putrapasubhur vṛddhum yaśaś cavyasyam aśnute 5.39.15

‘ He who supports a needy and a stricken agnatic relative becomes prosperous by getting sons and cattle and gains undying fame

vigraha hy api smrakṣya jñātago bharatarābha
kim punar gunavantas te prasadam kuru dmanam Paṇḍavan m 5.39.18

Agnatic relations must be protected even though undeserving of protection The Pandavas are worthy and virtuous Be good to the poor sons of Pāṇdu

jñātibhur vigrāhas tata na kartavyo bhavarth na
sukhani saha bhojyani jñātibhur bharatarābha 5.39.21

‘ One, wishing for the goods of this earth should not fall out with his agnatic relations All the happiness of this earth must be shared with ones kin ’

yaś cānyo jñātibhikṛyām vai viprakartum tatharhati
aniya ca sabhaṁ vaktum yathokta draupadī tvaya 5.126.8

“Who else would insult the wife of an agnatic relation as has done by bringing Draupadī in the open assembly and by speaking to her as he did?”

tvalto hy apatyālabhena *jñātūnām* me svaṁ bhavet | 143.35

“My family (agnatic clan) will be blessed by getting an offspring from you.”

uttisṭha bhadre Sarmisṭhe *Jñātūnām* sukham āvaha || 175.16

“Get up, good Sarmisṭha and work for the good of your kindred.”

tato dsdau Vasudevo janyathe dhanam uttamam |

haraṇam vai Subhadrāyāḥ *jñātūdeyam* mahāyayāḥ || 1213.4()

“Then Vāsudeva gave as dowry for Śubhadrā a lot of money dowry which is to be given by agnatic relations”

Jñātayo yasya nṛṣa syur viśamāḥ kulapāmanāḥ

sa jīvet suukham loke grāme druma ivaikayāḥ || 1138.24

eko vṛkṣo hi yo grāme bhavet paṇḍaphalānvitah |

caityo bhavati *nirṇātur* arcayitayāḥ sūpūṭah || 1138.25

esam ca hahayāḥ surā *jñātayo* dharmasamśritāḥ |

te jivanti suukham loke bhavanti ca nirāmayāḥ || 1138.26

.. jīvanty anyonyam āśritya drumāḥ kṣanātja iva || 1138.27

‘One, who has no enemical kin, who are a blot to the family, may hope to live happily, like an only tree in a village. An only tree full of leaves and fruit and without rival kindred is worshipped as a fetish. Those also who have many agnates abiding by the family law, and who are valorous, they also live happily and unafraid in this world, like forest trees which live by mutual support’

Jñōti are the living kin. Nowhere are dead ancestors mentioned as *Jñōtis* of the living. That the reference is always to the living agnatic kin is made clear in the following:—

jñāḥ suhṛt āvāṇo yo yatheha |

kṛṇe vāte tyayate mṛavair hi |

tathā tatra kṛpāṇyayāṁ manuyam

tyajanti tadāḥ sevaiā devasamśritāḥ | 165.2

'Just as on this earth, the kindred and the friend abandon a man when he loses his wealth, so in heaven the host of gods abandon him who loses his merit.'

dharmānityah sada paṇḍur mamaśit priyakṛd dhītaḥ |
sarveṣu jñātīṣu tathā mayi tv āsīt viśeṣataḥ || 1 130 2

'Please give a second king for the line of the Kurus, a king who will multiply the line of his ancestors and who will protect the line of his kindreds'

jñātvamāśasya goptāram pitṛnām vamsavardhanam |
dvitīyam kuruvamāsyā rājānam dātum arhasi || 1 100 12

'Pāṇdu always abided by Dharma, cared for the well being of his kindred and was particularly attentive to my needs'

raja rājāḥ katham sadhūḥ himsyān nrpatīsattama |
tadrājāḥ samnothyā tvam rudrāyopajihṛsasi |
te tvām jñāhksayakaram vāyam ārtānusārinah |
jñātvirddhiḥ nimittārtham vinīyantum ihāgataḥ | 2 20 8,12

'O best of kings, how can a king kill other kings? You have imprisoned kings and wish to offer them as sacrifice to Rudra. You are thus destroying your kindred (the kstriyas as children of Manu are thought of as kin) and we wishing to protect the oppressed, and wishing the prosperity of the kindred have come to prevent your action.'

Sambandhin means a person related by marriage

dūtas ca hi hṛṣīketah sambandhi ca prajāś ca naḥ | 5 86 17

'Hṛṣīkeśa has come as a messenger, he is related to us by marriage and is dear to us' (Dhṛtarāstra to Duryodhana).

Śi upāśasuto vīras cedirājo mahārathah |
Dhṛṣṭaketuḥ sambandhī . Pāṇḍavasya ha || 5 168 3

Dhṛṣṭāketu, the son of Śiśupāla, and the king of Cedi is a great charioteer and is related by marriage to the Pāṇḍavas.

ukto mayā Vāsudevaḥ punaḥ punar upahvare |
sambandhīṣu samīm vṛttīm vartasva Madhusūdana || 5 154 27

'The messenger said, "King Drupada has prepared a feast for the bridegroom's party. Enjoy it and do not let Kṛṣṇā remain long at your house."

tato rāja yajñā naḥ saputro |
 janyāritayuktam bahu tat tad agrāyam |
 samānayamāsa sutaṁ ca kṛṣṇam
 āplavya ratnair bahubhir vibhūṣya || 1906

'The king Yajñasena with his sons brought the best of everything as the gift for the bridegroom. And brought also his daughter after adorning her with precious jewels.'

The word *āpta* is not a kinship term. It is used for people who are loyal and trusted and is used of spies who generate trust in others and can thus know the secret of others, or do harm to them. Sañjaya is once called *apta*. Vidura is called *āptatama* (the most trusted) but nowhere has the term any definite kinship connotation as it can be equally well translated by the word trustworthy. The word *anāpta* is used of one who cannot or should not be trusted.

suhṛdāṁ yatamānānām āptair saha cikitsikāḥ |
 jagamastam || 19658

'He died in spite of all the efforts of his friends, working with the help of trusted doctors.'

kṛtām hi vyaktam āgneyam iḍām ve'ma ve |
 ālpihīḥ sukṛtām hy āptair || 113414 and 15

'This house seems to be made of combustible material by the help of trusted carpenters.'

anāptair dattam adatte naraḥ sastram lohaṁ |
 śvāvic charaṇam āśṛḍya pramucyeta kutāśanāt || 113322
 tato rajñam carair āptair carat samupanīyata || 11921

Then news was brought by the kings trusted messengers.'

adya tñ kuśalair viprasāḥ sukṛtair āptaśāmbhāḥ |
 Kuntīputrān bhedaḥmo || 11934

Now we shall try to divide the sons of Kuntī by employing clever trustworthy spies.

te loptraharaḥ samdhāva vadhyantām āptaśāmbhāḥ | 119316

“ They should be killed through some trustworthy members of the thieving profession ”

anāptah sann aptalamasya vacam |
Suyodhano Vidurasyavananya |
sutasya raja Dhrtaraṣṭraḥ pryaśa |
sambudhyamāno viśte dharmam eva || 5.26.11

“ Himself unreliable and paying no heed to the words of the most trustworthy Vidura the good-fighting King Dhrtarastra is doing wrong, though otherwise exhorted in the interest of his son ’

Yudhiṣṭhira utva apto dutaḥ Samjaya supriyaśa || 5.30.4

‘ Sañjaya you are a loyal messenger and dear to us

anaptanām pragrahaṭ tvam narendra |
tathaptanām nigrahaṭ caiva rajan |
bhūmim sphitam durbalatvad anantam |
na śaktas tvam reks tum Kauraveya || 5.32.29

‘ O Kaurava give you cannot retain this prosperous kingdom as you have weakened yourself by accepting the alliance of untrustworthy (can also be translated as not kin) men and by casting away the loyal ones

Varṣneyam anayamasa pūṣair aptakṛṇi hub || 3.57.10

“ She caused Varsneya to be brought to her through trusted messengers

There are certain other terms which are used to denote a family, a household a patriarchal line etc Their connotation must be fixed from the context in which they occur in the critical text These words are —

kutumba, kula gotra, vamsa, anvaya, anavāya

From the following it will be evident that *kutumba* is the immediate household and *kutumbini* is the housewife —

atho kasmāt Samjaya Paṇḍavasya |
utsaḥ noḥ purayataḥ svakarma |
yathakhyatam avasataḥ kutumbam |
purakalpat sadhu vilopam āttha || 5.29.4

' O Samjaya on what grounds do you assert that the Pāṇḍavas have failed in the traditional duty—Pāṇḍavas who carried household according to custom and who abided by their traditional duties.'

yadā pravasate bhartā *kulumbā*rthena kenacit |

sumanovarnakāpetā bhavāmi vratacāripa || 3 222 29

' When my husband is away on travel on some matter concerning the family, then I live like an ascetic without flowers and rouge.'

ye ca dharmah *kulumbesū* svasva me kathitāh pura |

bhikṣābaliśrēddham iti sthālīpākāś ca parvasu |

mānyānām mānasatikṛa ye cānye viditā mayā ||

tān sarvān anuvartāmi divāratram atandritā || 3 22 32 and 33

' All the formalities which are traditional to this house like giving of alms, giving of bali, making funeral oblations and carrying out the sthalipaka sacrifice as also the paying of honour to certain revered persons, and all customs told to me by my mother-in-law all these I conform to without fail, day and night.'

mayi sarvam samāśraya *kulumbā*m bharatarabhbh |

upāsanaśrēṣṭh sarve ghatante sma || 3 222 52

' Consigning the whole family to my care, my husband's care, only for the worship of gods '

Kula originally means a household. It is however used frequently in an extended sense to mean the family living in one household. It also means the whole family including its living and dead members. It seems to have reference to the agnatic relationship when one spoke of one's *kula* but is used with reference to mother's and maternal uncle's family as the word *jñātī* never is.

ekakalan caran bhikṣyam *kulam* dve ca pañca ca |

asambhave vā bhikṣyasya carannam aśāny api | 1.110 12

' I shall live by begging only once a day at seven houses and if I should not obtain any alms living without food '

grāme sucinī pracaran *kulam* bharatarabha |

pravṛstas tat kulam yatra pūrvam caritavāms tu sah || 3 197 7

'King of Bharatas I he was in the habit of begging alms at respectable houses in the town. He entered the house which he had often visited.'

tato rājakuladvārī prasuptam iva tām nṛpam |

rātrau parāsum utsṛjya niscakramur anmdamśh || 2 22 10

'The killers of enemy went out, of the city leaving the dead king as if sleeping, at the door of the palace (king's house).'

tau sametya mahārāja KuruCedivṛsau tadā |

ubhayaḥ śtmaḥkulayoḥ kauśalyam paryaprechatm || 2.26 13

'The kings of Kuru and Cedi met each other and asked after the health of each others families.'

Duryodhanena yady etat pāpam leṣu purā kṛtam |

tvayā kulavṛddhena pratyñeyam nareṣvara || 5 39 29

'O King, you are the eldest of your clan (family) did not right the wrong which Duryodhana had inflicted on them'

kulāni samupetāni gobhiḥ puruṣato'vataḥ

kulasamīkhyāni na gacchanti yāni h nāni vṛttataḥ

vṛttatas tv avihināni kulāny alpadhanāny api

kulasamīkhyāni tu gacchanti kartanī ca mahad yasaḥ | 5 36 28 and 29

'Those families which are of low moral character, never multiply, even though they possess, cattle, horses and men. But families of a high moral character though possessing but small fortunes, are multiplied and gain great fame.'

aṣṭau guṇaḥ puruṣam dīpayanti

prajñā ca kauśalyam ca dāmaḥ śrutam ca | 5 35 45

'Eight things make a man shine—wisdom, birth in a good family, self-control and learning etc.'

Such terms as *mātr-kula* (the mother's house-family), the *pitr-kula* (father's family), *mātulakula* (the maternal uncle's family), and *Vṛṣṇi-kula*—the *Vṛṣṇi* line, *Bhṛgu-kula*, the *Bhṛgu* line occur also. These various usages show that word *kula* is applied to the family and includes the dead as well as the living members of the same. Just as

one uses English terms like the house of Tudor, the house of Windsor etc., so the expressions like *Vṛṣṇikūla* must be interpreted.⁵

The word *gotra* appears but very rarely and its exact significance cannot be determined from the contexts in which it occurs. It may mean family or household.

etāvat Pāṇḍavānām hi nāsti kimcid ahe svakṣm |

nāmsādhyaṁ ca gotraṁ ca tad apy eṣāṁ na śīyate || 5.71 15

‘Not even this much is in this world that belongs to the Pāṇḍavas. Not even their name and Gotra remain to them.’

The word *vamsa* occurs often and can be best translated by the English word line. *Ailavamsyas* mean the kings born in the line of Ilā, *Iksvāku vamyās* mean the kings born in the line of Iksvāku. The word *vamsa* seems to have reference to the linear arrangement of a family shown in geneological tables. There are many men born in a *kūla*—the ruling man and those whom he succeeded as also those succeed him, form the *vamsa*. In two places the word *vamsa* is compounded with *kūla* to mean the line of kings upholding the name of a certain family. It must however be noted that words like *kūlakāra* and *vamsakāra* seem to have the same sense where *kūla* is used as a synonym of *vamsa*, both the expressions meaning “one who gives his name to a line or a family”. The expressions may also mean simply the continuer or upholder of the line.

mayā tu rakṣitavyeyaṁ purī bhāratasaltama |

yāvad rājño'sya nīlasya *kūlavamsadharā* iti || 2.28 34

‘O best of Bharatas, I must guard this city as long as there are reigning kings of the line of Nīla.’

na ca *vamsakāras* pulras tasyājyata kaccana | 2.16 20

‘To him was not born a son who could uphold his line.’

elo *vamsadharā* sūra ekasyām sambhaviṣyati || 3.104 15

‘To one (of your queens) shall be born only one brave son who shall continue the line.’

Pāñcājanayaḥ sruto veda *pāñcavamsakāras* tu sah | 3.210 5

⁵ The Nārāyaṇī word *ghara* means a household just as *kūla* does while *pharāṇe* means a family or a line.

In the Vedas he is known as Pañcājanya and is the founder of five lines

avarṇakāṇām satsu kulavamsasya nṛsanam

kalim putraspravādēna Samjaya tvam ajījanam 5 131 27

' Through you who are the doer of infamous deeds, the destroyer of the family and the line, I have given birth to Kali, in the guise of a son '

vamsamūlakam asadya tirthasevi kurudvaha

svavamsam uddhared rājan snātva vai vamsamūlaka 3 81 34

' O best of Kurus, who art fond of pilgrimage, go to Vamsamūlaka because by bathing there one uplifts one's vamsa ' (In this verse is made clear the analogy between a Bamboo which grows in a linear direction by adding one nodule to another and a human pedigree which runs from father to son Vamsamūlaka must have been a bamboo thicket growing near a river and by bathing near the roots of this thicket one secured the growth of one's family, and the continuity of one's line of succession—(obviously a piece of sympathetic magic)

The words *anvaya* and *anvavāya* refer to single lines of succession At two places in the Āraṇyaka Parvan the word stands for a ' son ' as one who succeeds, though this usage is peculiar

Cyavanasyāntaye jataḥ khyato vedavidam varah 1 48 5

' Born in the line of Cyavana, famous and best among the knowers of Vedas '

Agnir āgrayano nāma bhānor evānvayas tu sah 3 211 13

' The Āgrayana fire is the son of Bhānu '

caturbhiḥ sahitaḥ putraiḥ bhānor evānvayas tu sah 3 211 14

' He, the son of Bhanu, with his four sons.'

asti somanvaye me jataḥ kascin nṛpaḥ sakha 5 112 6

' In the line of Soma is a king who is my friend '

SUMMARY

(a) (i) In the parent's generation distinct kinship terms of designatory (like *mātula* mother's brother) or descriptive (*pituh svasr* father's sister)

type exist for mother's brother, mother's sister and father's sister

(b) No separate term exists for father's brother. He is everywhere addressed as father or younger father. Mother's sister is also called mother once.

(ii) In the ego's generation no term exists for children of mother's brother, father's sister or mother's sister and for father's brother's children. All these are called brother and sister. Thus the concept of cousinship is entirely absent⁶. In the son's generation no terms other than son exist for brother's son (man speaking while a separate term *svasṛiya* is used to designate a sister's son (man speaking)).

(iii) The term brother covers the following relations: own brother, father's brother's son, father's sister's son, mother's brother's son, mother's sister's son, father's father's (grandfather's) brother's son's son, father's father's father's (great-grandfather's) brother's son's son's son.

(iv) The term father covers the following relations: father, father's elder and younger brothers—all father's cousins of the father.

(v) The term mother is used for own mother, mother's co-wives, mother's sisters, father's brother's wives, father's cousin's wives.

(vi) The terms daughter and sister were very probably used in the same way as the terms son and brother but the epic data have not yielded any examples (except one cf. above) of such usage as references to women relatives are very rare.

(vii) The term son covers the following relations: own son and cousin's son.

⁶ In modern times in the countries to the south of Nerbada the practice of cross-cousin marriage is widely prevalent. The parallel cousins are placed on a par with one's own brothers and sisters and are termed just brothers and sister. The cross-cousins however receive special kinship-terms and the term may, as in Marathi, bring out their function as marriage mates. It often happens that a south Indian uses the English term 'cousin' for a cross-cousin and refers to a parallel cousin as a cousin brother or sister.

(iii) The term father-in-law is applied to husband's father and to all cousins of husband's father as also to father's grandfather and all male relatives of that generation

(ix) Mother-in-law stands for the own mother of the husband as also all the wives of the cousins of the father of the husband

(x) The daughter-in law is the wife of the son as also the wife of the cousin's son

(xi) Terms exist for great-grandfather on the one hand and great-grandson on the other. Thus seven men, three above and three below the generation of the ego formed a closely knit well recognised unit. All these might have lived contemporaneously in a joint household. References show that one's good deeds benefited ancestors removed by seven degrees from the doer of the deeds (*āsaptam Julaṁ purāṇi—Āraṇyaka Parvan*)

The princes and kings who gathered together on the eve of battle were all connected with each other by the ties of blood, or the ties of marriage. Their relationship can be traced on a genealogical table. All these together formed a sort of a federation (*Bund*) of allied royal houses. They were *bondhus* and *sambandhus* of one another. They belonged to various related *kulas* or families. The *kulas* were made up of living and non-living members of a family and each *kulo* was known by the names of its illustrious ancestors. The living members of a *kulo* or a patriarchal clan were called *jñāti* while all those connected with a *jñāti* by marriage ties were called *sambandhus*. Within the *jñāti* or *kula* succession and inheritance was from father to the eldest son, the collateral line being ordinarily barred from succession. This mode of inheritance or succession from father to the eldest son and then to the eldest son's eldest son is followed in giving king's lists or *onvayo onvavōya* or *anuvamso*.

the patriarchal family was firmly grounded in the line of its ancestors in as much as the ancestors and their status were a guarantee of the status of the present members. Mutual behaviour and the rights and duties of all the living members of this family were determined at the very birth of each member and the fate of the future generations was also more or less fixed by the predetermined position of the living members. The inheritance was generally held in common for the benefit of all; nominally the eldest male being in absolute authority. According to the best tradition the common property could be divided neither during the life-time of the father, nor after his death, although such a partition was not unknown. In *Ādi Parvan* is told the story of two brothers who, instead of living amicably together, wished to divide their patrimony. They died and were born as an elephant and an alligator fighting with each other and were ultimately both eaten by the divine eagle Garuda. (1.25.13). In the kingdom of Uparicara everything went on in the best traditional way and "the sons never desired a partition from their fathers" (1.57.10). When the kingdom was given to Pāndu he also ruled in a beneficent way over all his agnatic relations and was specially kind to his brother Dhṛtarāṣṭra (1.130.2). Duryōdhana envisaged a future in which he and his descendants would have to live as dependants of Pāndavas, finding satisfaction in whatever food and clothing was given to them by the Pāndavas (*te vyaṃ rājyaṃśena hīnāḥ saha sutair api . . . satatam nirayaṃ prāptāḥ parapindopajīvinah* 1.129.16 and 17). Thus one who succeeded to the office of the head of the family also held all the property, though it was held in order to enjoy it in common with all agnatic relations. The head of this family was the father of the family who had absolute power over all the members of his family. We have thus the joint family with the joint property, the succession and inheritance from father to eldest son and the absolute rule of the father. These three principles sometimes clashed and the problems arising out of the antagonism of these three principles of the family organisation were solved in various ways as the following examples will show.

When we read the kings' lists as given in the *Ādi Parvan* we notice that though the kings had more than one son the kingdom was generally inherited by the eldest son. Certain notable exceptions to this occur.

The princes and kings who gathered together on the eve of battle were all connected with each other by the ties of blood, or the ties of marriage. Their relationship can be traced on a genealogical table. All these together formed a sort of a federation (*Bund*) of allied royal houses. They were *bandhus* and *sambandhins* of one another. They belonged to various related *kulas* or families. The *kulas* were made up of living and non-living members of a family and each *kula* was known by the names of its illustrious ancestors. The living members of a *kula* or a patriarchal clan were called *jñāti* while all those connected with a *jñāti* by marriage ties were called *sambandhins*. Within the *jñāti* or *kula* succession and inheritance was from father to the eldest son, the collateral line being ordinarily barred from succession. This mode of inheritance or succession from father to the eldest son and then to the eldest son's eldest son is followed in giving king's lists or *anvaya*, *anuvāya* or *anuvamsa*.

The relationship of father and son was so conceived that the living person of a *kula* was the physical counterpart of his father and so of all his ancestors. The continuation of a line was absolutely necessary for the ensuring of the regular feeding of the ancestors in heaven. As long as one remembered one's ancestors and cared for them on the day of the yearly *Śrāddha* so long did the ancestors remain in heaven. A man entering his wife is born through her again (1.68 36). This same concept is developed in the Mbh. into one of memory of the dead. As long as there is some one who remembers the dead so long may the dead live in heaven. Yayāti was pushed down from heaven because nobody remembered who he was. King Indradyumna who had fallen from heaven because nobody knew who he was, regained his lost heaven as soon as an aged tortoise remembered his name as an institutor of great sacrifices (3.101). The original idea seems to be that as long as the line continued unbroken, and as long as ancestor-offerings were made, so long was heaven assured to the men of a family. Later on probably the idea came up that the same end could be achieved by making large religious gifts, by performing sacrifices and thus by getting the blessings of many, gain immortal fame here and eternal residence above. The patriarchal family owed its present existence and the status of its living members to the fact of these having certain common ancestors. This relation with the past was a physical bond, and was the prime sanction for present claims as will be seen later. Thus

(a) The displeasure of the father was enough to deprive a son of his birth-right if the father was powerful enough. Bharata set aside his nine elder sons in favour of Bhumanyu (1.89.17 and 18).⁶ Yayāti set aside his elder sons and gave the kingdom to Puru, the youngest against the wishes of his subjects.

(b) If the eldest son had some physical or mental defect he was set aside in favour of the younger. Devāpi the eldest brother of Santanu was deprived of his inheritance as he suffered from some skin-disease; (5.147.14 and 17) so also was Dhṛtarāṣṭra set aside in favour of Pāṇdu because he was born blind (1.102.23). It was thought that gods did not tolerate a king who was physically defective (5.147.25). When a son was thus deprived of his inheritance the kingdom passed into the hands of a younger son and his descendants and did not as a rule revert to the descendants of the son who was deprived of his inheritance.

All the intrigues of Dhṛtarāṣṭra and his son Duryodhana were directed towards preventing the establishment of Pāṇdu's line. That when once deprived of the kingdom neither Dhṛtarāṣṭra nor his sons had any claim to the throne was fully realised by them as numerous passages show. Duryodhana himself says (1.129.12-17), "Pāṇdu got the kingdom from his father and you lost it owing to your defect. Now if Pāṇḍavas get this inheritance from Pāṇdu it is assured in their line from father to son and we deprived of the kingly line shall not be despised by all." Dhṛtarāṣṭra also asks his son how it would be possible to usurp the kingdom from Dharma who had got it from his father and grandfather (1.130.3 and 4). Gāndhārī stresses the same point (5.146.31 and 32). Especially significant is the expression, "how can you hope for a kingdom when I was without a share in it" (*mayyabhāginī rājyāya katham tvaṁ rājyam icchasi* 5.147.30).

Every time the eldest son was set aside there was some stir created. Yayāti had to give some plausible excuse for his high-handedness, and

⁶ *putrān dvādaśa yānāḥ nṛṇaṁ svayam bhūvo manuḥ
teṣāṁ yaś bandhūdāyādāh saś adāyādabārdhanāh* 9.158
*aurasah kṣtrahas caiva dattah kṣtrima eva
guḍholpanno'paviddhas ca dāyādā bārdhanāh ca yaś* 9.159
*kānīnas ca sahoḍhas ca kṣtrah paunarbhavas tathā
svayamdattas ca sūdras ca saś adāyādabārdhanāh* 9.160,

gave the border provinces to his other sons. Devāpi and his aged father died broken-hearted as the consequence of Devāpi not getting the kingdom and the Bhārtiya battle which destroyed almost the whole Kaurava clan was fought as the result of the setting aside of Dhṛtarāṣṭra in favour of Pāṇdu. Powerful kings like Bharata and Sagara and Yayāti could carry out their wishes successfully, but the untimely death of Pāṇdu far away from the capital left his children and widow at the mercy of collateral relations.

Certain behaviour patterns emerge out of the absolute power enjoyed by the father of the family. The father-son relationship is such that absolute obedience, respect and sacrifice is demanded by the father from his sons. In most of the stories in the critical edition this pattern is followed as in the cases of Puru, Rāma Dāśarathi, Bhīṣma and Jantu (sacrificed by the father). On the other hand setting aside an aged father or circumventing his wishes while paying him homage in words are also given as behaviour of a son who is a blot to his family. Such sons are the sons of Dīrghatamas (1.98 18 and 19) and Duryodhana himself.

The husband-wife relationship is also one of obedience to and service of the husband by the wife. The highest praise to a woman is *patilokam urnvānā* 'choosing the fate of her husband'. Such women were Gāndhārī who bound her eyes when she heard that the husband chosen for her was blind, Mādri who burnt herself on the funeral pyre of her husband, Sitā, Draupadī, Damayantī and Sāvitrī who shared the exile of their husbands. In order to beget children as heirs to the husband women had to submit not only to the brother of their husband but to any brahmin appointed by their husband or the mother-in-law.

In this household the daughter's position was not at all enviable. She was freely employed for the sake of propitiating brahmins or for contracting political friendships. Kuntī describes how she was given away to king Kuntibhoja in her childhood and driven away by her father-in-law Bhīṣma. (I blame my father. He gave me to Kuntibhoja as a cunning man gives away wealth for his own purposes. As a small girl, playing with you with a ball was I handed over to Kuntibhoja. What is the use of this life to me who was so injured by the father and the fathers-in-law? (5.88 61-63). Ambā mourns in similar words at

*Bhūṣman dhuk ca me mandam pītaram mūdhacetasam/yeṇāham
viryasulṅkena paṇyastriṇat praveritā* 5 1735 Woe to my father who
disposed of me like an infamous woman by a bravery test (The bravest
may have my daughter) This exclamation also places the Svayamvara
institute in its proper perspective Except Damayanti and Savitrī no
woman in the epic stories has had a free choice of mate Draupadī was
to be given to a man who proved himself to be superior to all others in
archery and strength as Drupada wished to gain a powerful ally against
Drona Dharma tells as much to Drupada when he began
anxiously to enquire after the social status of the hero who had won
Draupadī

pradiśasulka Drupadena rājā sānena vareṇa tathānuvṛtta

na tatra varṇeṣu kṛta v vakṣa na j vaś lpe na kule na gotre 1 185 23

King Drupada had set a definite test for this girl She was won
accordingly by this hero No questions were asked about the caste or
the mode of living or the family or the name of the suitor Madhavi
the daughter of king Yayatī was hawked from king to king for the sake
of horses Śarmistha had to become the maid of Devayani to save
her father's clan The daughters were thus nothing but pawns in the
political game of alliances and counter alliances In the case of Bhadra,
the sister of Vāsudeva this is made very clear when Vasudeva advises
Arjuna his friend to abduct her rather than take the chance
of a Svayamvara ceremony where the foolish girl might fancy another
man

sa tvam Arjuna kalyāṇīm prasehya bhag n m mama

hara svayamvara hy aśyaḥ ko va veda cikṛ ts tam 1 211 23

No son is given to another in adoption in the stories of the Mahābhārata
while there is one case of a girl being given in adoption The system
of adoption of a son is so universal and well accepted in the Dharma
śāstras that the absence of even a single instance of an adoptive son
requires careful examination into the concepts of sonship and father-
ship In the Ādi Parvan at two places a list of different kinds of sons
is given The first is given by Śakuntala (1 69 18) who quotes Manu
as her authority and enumerates ten sons five from own wife
and five others (one who is found bought reared adopted and begot
on another's wife) Manu actually gives twelve kinds of sons and as
Śakuntala's enumeration is vague as regards the first five kinds of sons

it would be better to take Pāṇdu's list who not only enumerates different kinds of sons but gives a definite order of descending merit or worth :

ime vaḥ bandhudāyādāḥ saṭ putrā dhanmadarsane
 sad evābandhudāyādāḥ putrāḥ tēn ānu me prthe
 svayamjētaḥ prāṇitāḥ ca paṇkṛitāḥ ca yaḥ sutāḥ
 paunarbhavas ca kēninaḥ svasthīyām yaḥ ca jāyate
 dattāḥ kṛitāḥ kṛitmaḥ ca upagacchet avavān ca yaḥ
 śāhodho jātaretāḥ ca hinayodidhṛtas ca vaḥ 111 27-29

“ In the code of Dharma six sons are mentioned as *bandhus* (kin) and inheritors while six others are mentioned who are neither *bandhus* (kin) nor inheritors. Of the first kind are own son, a son born to one's wife by somebody else to whom she is led, a son to one's wife by somebody who is paid for this service, the son of a remarried wife by her first husband, the son born to one's wife in her maidenhood and the son born out of free love (out of wedlock ?) ” In the latter variety may be included :

- (1) an adopted son—a son given in adoption by his parents,
- (2) a son bought from his parents,
- (3) one who is brought up as a son in the family perhaps an orphan,
- (4) one who has come of himself for protection,
- (5) wife's son who is of an adult age at the time of marriage, and
- (6) one who belongs to a low caste.

This list differs from the one given in Manu. Manu places the following among the first kind of sons :

- (1) a son born of oneself,
- (2) born on one's wife through another,
- (3) an adopted son—given in adoption by the parents of the boy,
- (4) one who is brought up in the household without any formal ceremony of adoption,
- (5) one who is born secretly—through a paramour to one's wife,

and

(6) one who is rejected by his natural parents and adopted into one's household.

Of the six inferior varieties are :

- (1) one born to the wife in her maidenhood,
- (2) born to her at the time of her marriage,
- (3) bought,
- (4) the son of a remarried woman,
- (5) one who gives himself for adoption, and
- (6) one who is of a low caste.

In these two lists there are remarkable differences. In Pāndu's list there is one principle for distinguishing the two kinds of sons. All sons born either to oneself or to one's wife are placed in one category, that of a *bandhu* (kin) and *dāyāda* (inheritors), while sons who have been bought etc. are placed in the other category. The adult *sahodha* though born to one's wife is rejected because as an adult he is generally recognised as another's son and the last one, though one's son, is rejected as belonging to low caste.

In Manu's list the adopted son and the orphan brought up in one's household are counted among the first six, and the son born to the wife as a maiden and the son of a remarried widow (her first husband's son?) are rejected from the list.

If we turn from this theoretical list to the actual practice in the epic we find that Pāndu's list is true to the usage depicted in Critical Edition while Manu's conception about sons is not borne out by the epic evidence.

Pāndu and Dhṛtarāstra are examples of *pranīta* sons (called *kṣetrajā* in Manu's list). An example for a *parikṛīta* son is not found. Karṇa is a *kānīna* son and could have got his share of Pāndu's kingdom if he had so chosen as is clear from Kṛṣṇa's speech in which he asks Karṇa to join the Pāṇḍavas. Angada is the *paunarbhava* son of Sugrīva. And Bhīṣma may be given as an example of a son born of a *svairinī*, Gaṅgā came of her own accord to Śantanu, lived with him without marriage as long as she chose, and deserted him at her sweet will. She was thus a *svairinī* and her son was declared as heir to Śantanu.

There is, however, not a single example of a *datta* (formerly adopted) and a *kṛtrima* son inheriting as a son in any of the stories of the Mahābhārata. In fact these sons are definitely rejected by Pāṇdu as unworthy. The critical text gives two definitions of son-ship. They are as follows :

(a) *bahsra mā(ā) pituh putra yena jāyeta sa eva sah* 169 29.

The mother is but a leather bag. The son is the father's. The son is really his, who gives him birth

(b) *bhāryām pathi sampracīṣṭa sa yasmā jayate patah j jayā ilī jāyātan* 168 36

The *jāyāhood* of a *jāyā* consists in that a man is reborn again when he enters his wife as her husband.

(2) *pāṇigrāhasya tanayaḥ* 198 8

The son is his, who has held the hand (in marriage).

kūṇinnā ca sahoḍhā ca kanyāyām yaś ca jayate

vedhāram pīṭaram tanya prāṇih 5138 8

As for one who is born of a maiden, one who was there at the time of the marriage of a girl, and born to her before his marriage(?), his father is the man who marries his mother.

The first may be called a biological theory in which the mother is conceived merely as an incubator whereas the father is the real generator of the child. Through this a man could claim the child of a woman to whom he was not formally married but marriage set up certain social considerations. The woman was the property of the man who married her and in the case of a married woman, the biological theory was no good, so we have the second theory which is purely sociological and where fatherhood is defined as a social convention—in terms of property rights. The progeny of a married woman belonged to her husband. A man was the father of all children born to his wife and so even after the death of a man, a man could get children born to him (who claimed his parentage) through his widow provided she remained his widow. During his own life-time if a man was incapable of procreating children he could command his wife to get children for him from somebody else.

Thus the sons of Śakuntalā, Gangā and Śarmisthā were sons of their fathers according to the biological definition, and Pāndu, Dhṛtarāstrā, Dharma etc. were sons according to the second definition.

No *datta* or *kr̥trima* (formally adopted or brought up as an orphan) son has inherited his father's fortune in the vast number of cases recorded in the Critical Edition.

Both the lists agree in denying the right of inheritance to a son of a low-caste. Such a son was Vidura and the Epic definitely says that Vidura was debarred from succession as he was *ḥarana* (of a low-caste) 1.102.23.

A very remarkable fact is that there is one case of a daughter given away in a formal, solemn adoption. She was promised the eldest's rights by her adoptive father. (1.104.2 and 3). Though what she gained by this position is not at all evident, she was used by her adoptive father for service to a Brahmin who pleased by her services would give the blessings to the adoptive father (3.287 and 288). Whatever the number of sons, there never was a superfluous son who could be given to another. The ideal state was supposed to be that of being a parent of numerous children. Having no son was the worst evil that could befall a man. Having but one son was almost as bad having none. The fears and tribulations of the parents of an only son are tellingly depicted in the story of Jantu (3.127.5-12): The patriarchal joint family oscillated between two extremes—both leading to probable extinction. One was of having but one son on whom rested the duty of continuation of the line, the other was having many sons leading to fraternal jealousies and a war ending in total destruction of the clan. But wherever the ruling patriarch was strong he could curb his brothers and his own children and theirs, and so for the sake of the fighting strength of the clan a numerous male progeny was always desired. The epic data do not show that any father would willingly give a son to another. How are we then to explain the institution of adopting a son which has become a very important part of the Hindu family organisation? The gradual disappearance of levirate and Niyoga customs due to moral concepts about the post-nuptial loyalty of the wife, and the absence of *kānina* children owing to insistence on the pre-nuptial chastity of the bride may be pointed out as the causes for the sudden

extinction¹⁸ In Travancore also where descent is reckoned through the female line a girl was adopted in order to avoid the extinction of the royal line¹⁹

It will be seen thus that adoption is known all over the world at the present time and so the negative evidence of the epic which has not recorded a single case of the succession of an adopted son or even a single case of formal adoption is significant. The European data, and the classical data as also the Iranian data point to a late adoption of this custom by the people of Indo-European cultures.

Another interesting system which affects inheritance and succession is the system by which the son of a daughter was appointed as heir. The epic evidence is interesting. It has only two cases of *putrikā-putra*. Prajāpati—the father of all creation—lost his one thousand sons and so proclaimed his fifty daughters as *putrikās*. They were given in marriage to various sages and to the moon, etc. and gave birth to all the living creatures of this earth.²⁰ This particular conception of a *putrikā* daughter is entirely unknown to later texts. A man is supposed to destine one of his daughters as the mother of his heir, but is not supposed to make all his daughters into *putrikās*. The above myth fathers the world on Prajāpati through his daughters and not through his sons. In the same way without even mentioning the word *putrikā* all Kṣatriyas are declared as belonging to the solar line through being Manu's progeny. Manu was the son of the Solar Deity. He had sons and daughters. His daughter Ilā was the ancestress of all the Kaurava kings and yet they are placed on a basis of equality with the Ikṣvāku kings who are born of the son of Manu. The epic does not even give the name of the husband of Ilā but says she was both father and mother to her son.²¹ The other example of a *putrikā*-son is the son of Arjuna born through Citrāngada the daughter of the king of Maṇalūrapura. The place was somewhere in the south-eastern part of India and though a very elaborate explanation is given why Citrāngada was made a *putrikā*, the location

¹⁸ GURJON *The Khads* p. 85

¹⁹ E. THURSTON *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* Vol. IV p. 82

²⁰ 1.60.11

²¹ 1.70.16. *Pururavas tato vridvan Itayam samapadyata |
sa vai tasyabhavati mīta pita ceti hi naḥ sruṭam ||*

of her father's kingdom points out to matrilocal residence of the child as a southern—or non-Indo-Āryan custom. Apart from Manu's daughter there is another example of a son getting the kingdom of his mother's father but there is no mention of the word *putrikā*. Thus Pratīpa's second son Bālīhika inherits his mother's father's kingdom and leaves his father's kingdom to his younger brother Śantanu. Again in deciding this second much-debated point in Hindu law-books it is necessary to prepare a case book citing all clear and unambiguous reported cases of *putrikā-putras* before it can be decided whether this institution was also not borrowed from matriarchal and matrilocal people among whom the epic Indo-Aryans lived and with whom they sometimes contracted marriages.

The incorporation of the *dattoḥa* system and the *putrikā-putra* system changed the whole conception of fathership and sonship as defined in the epic as either a biological relationship or as a property relationship through wife's possession. The *dattoḥa* and *putrikā-putro* modes of sonship do involve ideas of property rights. The one is the assertion of the ruling male of his right to adopt a stranger. (The epic only recognises the right of disinheritance of an own son). The other is the right of a father over his daughter. The *dattoḥa* system especially struck a blow at the customs of Niyoga and levirate and threatened the right of the collateral branches to inheritance if the senior branch became extinct.

The customs of Niyoga and levirate, implying a certain approach to polyandrous unions are found in the epic. The story of Brhaspati and Mamatā shows that a younger brother had access to the elder brother's wife. The evidence is, however, rather confusing. Dharmarājā's speech to Arjuna where the junior levirate is implied, is as follows 1.205.27.

Guror anupraveśo hi nopaghāto yaḥ Iyasaḥ . . etc.

The word *anupraveśa* here means not just following but the exercise of marital rights after somebody else. The same word is used when Satyawatī tells her daughter-in-law "Kausalyā : you have a husband's brother. He will come to you today".

Kausalye devaras te'sti so'dya tūanupraveśyasi 1.100.2.

Also the objection raised by Draupadī's brother Dhṛtadyumna indirectly lends support to junior levirate (I 188 10) "How can the elder brother, knowing dharma, go with the wife of a younger?"

yau yavaḥ katham bhāryām jyeṣṭho bhṛātu devyarṣabha |
brahman samabhiṣarteta sadakṛtob sams tapadhana ||

Accordingly Kṛṣṇā-Draupadī was married to the five brothers one after another, the eldest coming first and the others following according to seniority. But actually when Satyawatī bids Bhīṣma to impregnate his younger brother's wives this is against the sentiment expressed above (I 97 8,9,10). Also when Kṛṣṇa in order to get Karna on the side of Pāṇdavas tells him, that not only will he be the king as the eldest of brothers but he will also in due time have Draupadī as his wife in common with the other brothers (5 138 15)

asṛje ca tva tatha kale Draupedy upagamīṣyet

We may infer that junior levirate was preferred but in certain circumstances even senior levirate was practised. The marriage of Draupadī must be looked upon also as a special modification of this custom of levirate. A man had a right to his elder brother's wife even during the life time of his brother as the story of Brhaspati and Mamata shows, this right however was exercised without the brother-in-law being the husband of his brother's wife. Nor could the children be claimed as his, however, by undergoing the formal marriage ritual all the brothers could have own sons from the woman. A careful reading of the adhyayas dealing with Draupadī's marriage convinces us that such a marriage was not an act of divine will—but a political necessity. The five brothers had finished their education and excelled all others. It was the duty of their father (uncle) Dhṛtarāṣṭra to seek out suitable brides for them and to marry them. But such a procedure would have upset all his plans of usurping the throne of the orphaned friendless princes²⁷

²⁷ I 70 16 Karna's speech I 94 3 where he compares them to birds which had not yet grown wings

ihava tartamūnās te sam pe tava pūṛthiva
aṇīlapakṣāḥ susaṁśaḥ saḥiṣā naiva bāndhitam

You could not harm them even when they were here within your reach like fledglings unable to fly (or without parents) and were but children

A marriage always meant a political alliance, and the marriages of the five princes into five ruling houses would have gained them such strong partisans that Dhṛtarāṣṭra would not have been able to carry his designs, nor could Duryodhana have conceived the plan of their utter destruction in the combustible house at Vāranāvata. So the five brothers were as good as exiled to a distant part of the kingdom (1.130.20 and 131.11 Dharma, knowing the purpose of his uncle and yet aware of his helplessness consented to go.) An attempt was made on their life. And things looked so black that Dharma with his brothers and mother decided to live *incognito*. None of the brothers were married, their best friends, the house of the Yādavas thought them to be dead when suddenly Arjuna had the good fortune to win Draupadī. While in this temporary eclipse they had entered a pact of always standing together and sharing everything, whoever it was that won it. Draupadī was won by Arjuna with the help of Bhīma. Through Draupadī an opportunity was offered to make their claims on the Hāstinapura kingdom good, with the backing of the Somakas (Draupadī's clan) and Yādavas (their mother's clan). If Draupadī had been married to Arjuna alone it would have led to mutual jealousies and their one tower of strength, their unity, would have been broken. Dharma sees this clearly and promises that Draupadī should become the wife of all. He first offered that Arjuna should marry her, but Arjuna declined as the marriage of a younger brother with two elders unmarried would be committing a great sin and he left the matter in the hands of Dharma. The few verses that follow are very clear. (1.182.11 to 15.) They seeing Kṛṣṇā standing there, looked at each other and loved her in their hearts. Love was born in them when they sighted Draupadī. Then Yudhiṣṭhira knowing what was going on in their minds and remembering Vyāsa's speech, said to his brothers being afraid of quarrels among themselves (*mithobhedabhayāt*)—"Draupadī shall become the wife of us all". Then later on in order to avoid the taboo of an elder having marital rights over the younger brother's wife he ordered that Draupadī was to be married to him first and then to the others in the order of seniority. That Dharma's calculations were right is proved by the speech of Karna. Duryodhana wanted to send clever spies in order to create a quarrel among the brothers. Karna sees the futility of this suggestion and answers, "It is not possible to create a disagreement between them. Those who love one wife cannot be divided. Neither is it possible to make Kṛṣṇā dissatisfied with them. Women covet to be

the wife of many husbands This she has attained and so she cannot be divided from them"²³ She had married them when they were miserable and now that they are prosperous she will certainly not leave them Levirate is quite a well known social institution in Africa. Polyandry is not known as an established social institution in that region and yet a temporary polyandry is practised in circumstances very similar to those of the Pāṇḍava princes LOWIE writes,²⁴ "Wahuma polyandry, while legitimate, is not a dominant institution but occurs under special circumstances and for a restricted period When a man is too poor to buy a wife alone, he is assisted by his brothers and these share his marital rights until the woman's pregnancy" We find that it was usual for the elders of a boy to arrange his marriage. Dhṛtarāstra deliberately shirked this duty. The brothers were too poor to obtain a wife each, and with a well established system of levirate a polyandrous marriage was not so much against conceived notions of morality as to offend the public conscience Dharmarājā by insisting in this kind of marriage and by giving an equal status and share to all brothers avoided the mistake committed by the demon brothers Sunda and Upasunda who shared everything in common but quarrelled for the sole possession of a beautiful woman, and were destroyed²⁵ Later on when the brothers got a half of the kingdom of Hāstinapura each one married again

As has already been noted, the system of levirate was known, but actually except for the story of Marmatā and Brhaspati levirate in its usual accepted meaning was not practised by the characters in the story. Niyoga was interpreted as command of an elder person to the widow of a deceased son to beget children from either the brother of the deceased or from a Brahmin. Dirghatamas gave such sons to the king Bali (I 98 20-33) Vyasa, though a son of Satyawatī, was not recognised

²³ *paraspareṇa bhedaś ca nūddhātum teṣu śakyate*
ekanyām ye ratih patnāyām ha bhavdyante parasparam
na cūpi kṛtṛā śakyeta tebhyaḥ bhedayitum parah
paridyūnām vṛtatai kṛtmādya mṛgacatah
Ipśtas ca gaṇah strīnām ekanyā bahubhartrā
tom ca prūptacai kṛtṛā na yā bhedayitum sukham I 194 6, 7, 8

²⁴ R H LOWIE, *Primitive Society* p 43

²⁵ A couplet occurring in the Sundopasund story expresses a sentiment which is not expressed anywhere else, nor acted upon by the characters in the story of the epic The couplet purports to say that the wife of the elder brother is like an elderly person (e.g. mother) to the younger brother, and the wife of the younger is like the daughter-in-law of the elder

as Śantanu's son by anybody. His existence even was not known till after the death of Śantanu. That Satyawatī deliberately deceived her daughter-in-law is clear from the text. Instead of telling Ambā whom exactly to expect, Satyawatī tells her: 'Today your husband's brother will come, receive.'

Kausalye devaraste'sti so dya iva'nu praveksyati
apramatta pratiksainam nistitha āgamyati || 1 100.2

We are told that Ambā, bathed and dressed in beautiful garments, lay on her couch thinking of Bhīṣma and other Kuru heroes.

svasṛṣṭā tad vacanam śrutvā Sayāna sayane subhe
sāntayati tadā Bhīṣmam antāṅgas ca Kurupumjavan || 1 100.3

By the word *devr* she naturally expected a visit from Bhīṣma, the hero who had carried her away at her marriage festival, or failing Bhīṣma, cousins of Bhīṣma who were born in the joint family. One can imagine her horror when instead of the elegant youths of her household, she was confronted by an unkempt, evil-smelling elderly Brahmin. That this procedure was condemned by others is clear also from the vehement taunt of Śiśupāla in the Sabhā Parvan when he tells Bhīṣma. "You vaunt your celibacy but I think it must be due to impotence. You who call yourself wise, let children be born to you, through your brother's wives, from a stranger while you looked on :"²⁶ While a brother tracing his descent from the father's side was living an illegitimate brother through the mother should not have been called to perform the duties of a real brother. In the Mahābhārata levirate is thus mentioned as a custom allowed by the society though it was not frequently practised. It had not yet lost its prestige, nor thought of as immoral by any person in the epic. In extreme straits polyandry as a logical sequence of levirate was practised as Draupadī's marriage shows. The Mahābhārata battle is said to have occurred a few years before the beginning of the Kali-age according to the Indian tradition and the custom of levirate is mentioned as *Kolivarjya* (not to be practised in Kali-age) by late commentators on the Dharma-śāstras.

Though the general rule of succession seems to be from father to son certain expressions on different occasions point to another possible

²⁶ *dīro'yoṣṭaḥ yasya cūnyena mustaḥ prājñānāmunaḥ
lova jñāniy apatjñāni so'arāṇāntaḥ patha*

alternative All the following examples are merely expressions of a wish or desire and nowhere except in one case refer to an actually realised succession In the Ādi Parvan, after the birth of Duryodhana Dhrtarāstra called Vidura and Bhīṣma and said, "Yudhsthira as the eldest is the crown prince and has got the kingdom as he is the eldest. I have nothing to say against that, but will this my son (born after him) become king after him? Tell me the truth" ²⁷ This question of the poor frustrated old man has remained unanswered In the Āranyaka Parvan Duryodhana after being humiliated by the Pandava's generosity, in his venture of Ghosayatra decides to commit suicide and makes Dussāsana king after him (5 238 22) In the Udvoga Parvan Kṛṣṇa tells Karna that if he acknowledged the fatherhood of Pandu and the brotherhood of the Pandavas he would become the king and adds may Dharma become the crown-prince ²⁸ Bhīṣma says I crowned Citrangada as the king of Kauravas and made the younger brother Vicitravīrya the crown prince When an elder brother died, or was unable to succeed the younger brother succeeded but otherwise the succession was from father to son. As a matter of fact Vicitravīrya did succeed to the crown as the elder brother died childless In the Dharma-sāstras there is no mention of fraternal succession Thus we see the necessity of studying the historical evolution of Hindu Social institution by compiling case-histories in a chronological order and comparing these with the tenets of the Dharma-sāstras. Especially is this necessary as regards the institution of inheritance, levirate, adoption and marriage The kingship terminology which recognises only the concept of father and not of uncle would lead us to expect that when the eldest male died, those who were called father (the younger brothers of the dead) would succeed before the turn came to the sons ²⁹

²⁷ *jātanūtre sūte tasmān Dhṛtarāṣṭro brāhṇa idam
samānīya balīm uprān bhīṣmam viduram eva ca
yudhsthira rājaturo jṣṭho naḥ kulavardhanaḥ
prōptah svavunato rājyam na tasmān vāḥyam asti naḥ
ayam to anantaras tasmād aṣṭ rājā bhavatyah
etad dīṭ brūta me satyam yad atra bhūṣā dīṭam* 1 107 23 27

²⁸ *prajāpatis tū rājā Kuntīputro Yudhishthirah* 5 138 18

²⁹ This kind of succession is recorded among Yakuts and Kafir tribes among the Arabs and among the Masris *See* LOVELL, *op cit* p 238 It is also recorded among Russians *See* Bernard Pares p In mediæval Russia in the Yaroslavl dynasty the succession was fraternal The eldest nephew succeeded after the death of all the uncles *Ency Brit* p 713

The following two stanzas must also be construed as pointing to a fraternal succession, though the argument put forward in them was not weighty. "Dhrtarāstra is yet on the throne, his younger brother Vidura is still living. How can you then command the kingdom, O I foolish Duryodhana?" Even the king (Dhrtarāstra) and Vidura would both be in the position of dependents while Bhīṣma is living but he is not greedy of the kingdom" (5 146.30,31).

Dhrtarāstra was set aside owing to his blindness, and Vidura owing to his low birth. If Dhrtarāstra as the first born had got the kingdom in the first instance, the whole reason for the Mahābhārata battle would have vanished. So the above argument in the situation in which it was uttered was absolutely besides the point, but it shows that the possibility of fraternal succession was considered by some persons in the epic.

Another form of preferential mating is the system of sororate, or the custom of a man marrying the sisters of his wife at present; this is a well-recognized custom in all parts of India but especially in South India. In the critical text we have cases of such marriages. The two Kāśī-princesses, sisters Ambā and Ambālikā married king Vicitravīrya.²⁷ Two Kāśī-princesses also sisters, married Bhadratha, the king of Magadha;²⁸ and Jarāsandha gave his two daughters in marriage to Kamsa, the maternal uncle of Kṛṣṇa.²⁹ There are, however, cases of sisters marrying different kings, thus, Damayanti's mother and mother's sister were married to the kings of Vidarbha and Cedi respectively.³⁰ This is also understandable as we have seen that daughters were considered as excellent means of sealing political friendships. In this respect the Southern Recension of Mahābhārata is interesting. It has created sisters where none are mentioned. Gāndhārī's ten sisters are supposed to have married Dhrtarāstra.³¹ Nowhere is it mentioned in the epic that sisters are destined for one man. The recognised legal importance of levirate is thus in contrast with this silence. Marriage with sisters involves no such issues of succession and inheritance as did levirate

²⁷ 19652

²⁸ 21618

²⁹ 213.29-30

³⁰ 36613

³¹ Note on p. 467 *Ādi Parva* to 110416

Instead of saying that sister-marriage was preferred it would be better to say that there was no bar against a man marrying sisters, whereas the Kumbhakonam Edition suggests that to the Southerners it was almost compulsory for a man to marry all women who were sisters

Yet another form of preferential mating is the custom by which cross-cousins are married. Again no verse in the text suggests a special recognition of this relationship, nor is any special preference for such a marriage verbally evinced. Yet if we scrutinize all the examples of recorded marriages we find one which is definitely a cross-cousin marriage and several which are very probably also cross-cousin marriages. The most conspicuous case of cross-cousin marriage which has been made into a cousinly romance by the Southern Recension is the marriage of Arjuna with Subhadrā (Adi Parvan pp 957-66) From the kings' list given in adhyāya 90 of the Adi Parvan the following marriages appear to be cross-cousin marriages

(1) Jayatsena married a Vīdarbha princess by name Susuvā. Arācīna, their son also married a Vīdarbha princess by name Maryādā.

(2) Vīdūratha married Sampriyā, a princess of Magadha. Arugvān, their son, also married a Magadha-princess by name Amrtā.

(3) Pāndu married Mādri. Mādri's son Sahadeva is said to have married a Mādri

(4) Pāndu married Yādavī Kuntī. Arjuna a son of Kuntī married Yādavī Subhadrā

(5) Vicitravīrya married two Kūśi princesses. His grandson Bhīma also married a Kaśi-princess (2nd cousin?).

(6) Parīksit (according to the classificatory terminology the grandson of Sahadeva) married a Mādravatī (2nd cousin?) Parīksit's grand-step-mother was also a Mādri or Mādravatī.

Thus from a record of over fifty marriages one is definitely a cross-cousin marriage while three others appear to be so, and two are apparently marriages with cross-cousins of the second degree. There was thus no bar against cross-cousin marriage but it was certainly not a preferred type of mating.

We have seen that illegitimacy was never considered a bar to succession Śarmiṣṭhā and Śakuntalā were not married to Yayāti and Dusyanta respectively and yet their sons succeeded. The double doctrine of

fathership (fathership by the fact of marriage with the child's mother or fathership through impregnation of a woman by the "seed" of a man) helped in all cases and covered the case of illegitimacy.³⁵ Though the child had equal rights the unmarried mother did not hold the same position as the *dharma-patnī* or the wife wedded according to the usual religious ceremonies. A man had his first wedded wife who held the first position in the polygamous household, while those who were married afterwards held a subordinate position, princesses not properly married came next, then came the concubines and last the female slaves belonged to an inferior caste and their children were ordinarily barred from succession but formed the loyal and trusted followers of the king. They were the *sūtas* (Sanjaya and Vidura belonged to this category).

The kinship usages generally show examples of extreme deference entailing avoidance of certain relatives on the one hand and privileged familiarity with certain relatives on the other. Sometimes, as is the case with the Marāṭha people today the names of certain relatives are never uttered, they being addressed in the third person or by onorific titles only. In the critical text, as has already been noted the word *Āryā* (her honour) is used by Draupadī for her mother-in-law Kuntī. There is, however, no taboo on using the name while speaking to a third person. There is a very strict taboo on direct speech between a woman and her husband's father and uncle i.e., those whom she may call father-in-law. Neither should a daughter-in-law go uncovered in the presence of her father-in-law. The gravity of Duryodhana's behaviour consisted in making Draupadī face the elders of her husband's house in an open assembly and this fact has been stressed again and again by Draupadī.

Joking with the daughter-in-law is held on a par with adultery (5.37.5).

LOWIE reports (*Primitive Society* pp. 85-92) that all the tribes of northern Asia, the Yukaghir, the Ostyak, the Buryat, the Kalmuk, the Altaian Turks and the Kirghiz observe the parent-in-law taboo in this form. A woman is not allowed to have speech with her father-in-law.

³⁵ The Hindu law though far more conservative than the legal system of Western Europe to the concubine and the illegitimate children has lost its former liberal spirit by which illegitimate children were placed absolutely on a par with the child of the wife (1.1.100).

or to sleep in the same tent with him. The Oceanic people, the people of Africa and America show another kind of restriction, i.e. that of avoidance between the son-in-law and the mother-in-law. The father-in-law taboo as found in the *Mahābhārata* is also recorded in unequivocal terms in the *Atharvaveda*. *ye sūryāt parisarpanti snuseva svasurād adhi* 8 6 24.

The people of the Asiatic plain and of northern India have been in contact through the corridors of the Khyber and the Bolan passes since times immemorial and this fact together with the pastoral background of the Vedic Aryans points to a common cultural root for this particular taboo.

There is no explicit record about privileged familiarity between certain relatives, but a very intimate friendship is depicted between Kṛṣṇa, Arjuna and Draupadī. Kṛṣṇa is called the friend (*sakhā*) of Arjuna (e.g. 1.210.5), in numerous places. A picnic entailing revelry and licence is planned only by these two friends (without the other Pāṇḍava brothers) with their wives and concubines on the banks of the Yamunā, where the wives get drunk and where the friends talk of their past deeds of valour and love (1.214 14-28). In another passage Sañjaya describes the behavior of these in their private apartment. Sañjaya describes his visit to Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna in the following words. "Then I entered the inner apartments, to tell my message to the two (Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna). Neither Abhimanyu, nor the younger twins were allowed entrance there, where Kṛṣṇa, Arjuna, Satyabhāmā (Kṛṣṇa's wife) and Draupadī were. The two sat on one couch, drunk with honey-wine. Kṛṣṇa's feet were in Arjuna's lap, while Arjuna rested his feet in the laps of Draupadī and Satyabhāmā."

Arjunotsangagau padau *Keśavasyopalak* a,c

Arjunasya tu Kṛṣṇāyām Satyanyam ca mahāīmanah 5.583—7

Draupadī always calls herself "the friend" or *sakhī* of Kṛṣṇa. (*Dhṛṣṭadyumnasya bhagini tava Kṛṣṇa priyā sakhī* 5.80.21; also *kathan nu bhāryā pārthānām tava Kṛṣṇa sakhī vibho* 3.13.53). Just as the relationship of Draupadī and Kṛṣṇa is depicted by the term *sakhī* i.e. friend, so also the relationship of Satyabhāmā and Arjuna must be that of *sakhī* especially in view of the description above. It is worth noting that in the Southern Recension Arjuna is referred to as Satyabhāmā's brother: *bhrātaram tava paśya iti Satyabhāmām adarśayat*.

He showed Arjuna to Satyabhāmā saying "see, there is your brother" (p. 958 Appendix I Ādiparvan). Placing the husband's brother on par with one's own brother is quite foreign to the mores of the epic. This discrepancy once again demonstrates how absolutely essential it is to have critical editions of Sanskrit texts in order to be able to unravel the riddle of the historical process of culture-contact and culture stratifications going on in India for centuries.

The relative ages of husband and wife do not seem to be fixed by tradition. The custom of junior levirate however must have meant living together of a man with his elder brother's wife, who in many cases, might have been older than himself. There are two cases recorded of women destined for an unborn boy. Gangā as a young woman approached Pratīpa, who refused her advances and promised her the hand of his unborn son. Śantanu fulfilled the promise and lived with Gangā, when he came of age. Thus the beloved must have been at least thirty years older than the lover. Gangā did not belong to the Kṣatriya caste, nor to any other caste. She came out of the woods bordering the river Ganges and was supposed to be an incarnation of the river itself. The other case is that of Kārttikeya and Devasenā. Indra rescues Devasenā from a demon and then comes the birth of Kārttikeya, who is married to Devasenā who must have been at least fifteen years older than her husband.

Though nothing is said about the ages of Satyavān and Sāvitrī, the possibility that she was older than her husband is suggested by the fact that she had almost passed the usual age for marriage and as nobody came forward to wed her, the father in despair asked her to seek a husband. She chose Satyavān. Satyavān's subsequent behaviour in the forest, and his weeping for his father and mother when contrasted to Sāvitrī's calm and collected behaviour throughout the crisis, suggests that Sāvitrī might be older than Satyavān.

We have said that side by side with this dominant patriarchal pattern is also depicted in the Epic, in a subsidiary fashion, another type of a household. Jaratkāru, the sister of Vāsukī, the King of the Nāgas was married to a Brahmin named Jaratkāru who lived with her until the conception. Jaratkāru's child Āstika was also brought up in his

maternal uncle's house³⁵ Arjuna married or lived with another Nāga princess Ulūpi, who lived in her father's house³⁷ Citrāngadā the daughter of the king of Manalūrapura also lived with her father even though she married Arjuna, and her son Babhruvāhana was brought up in her father's house³⁸ Hidimba the demon wife of Bhīma lived in her ancestral forest and her son Ghatotkaca was also brought up in his mother's house³⁹ Suparna Vainateya, the semi-divine eagle also found a Brahmin living with his Nisādi wife at the latter's house⁴⁰ Of these matrilineal families two are said to be Nāgas one a South Indian, one a Raksasa living in a forest and one a Nisāda These women married men of Ksatriya and Brāhmaṇa caste but kept to their father's household We know definitely that in the case of one (i.e. Babhruvāhana) that the son inherited his maternal grandfather's kingdom The Nāgas are never mentioned as a forest tribe They are confused with serpents but appear to be powerful rivals and sometimes allies of the epic Ksatriyas In the king's succession list in the Ādiparvan there is a king Rksa who married Jvalā, the daughter of a king Taksaka and another king Ajamidha who had a Naga wife The long feud carried on between the Pandavas and Nāgas is well recorded Arjuna wished to burn Taksaka in the Khāndava forest Arjuna's grandson Parīkṣit was bitten by Taksaka and Janamejaya vowed to kill all Nāgas and conquered Taksasila, the city of the Taksakas They are not spoken of as agriculturists They may have been dwelling in forests as the Khāndava episode suggests, but were certainly never placed by the epic heroes in the category of jungle folks like the Nisādas No detailed account of the household of these people is given, but the family appears to be constituted on some matriarchal basis The four people enumerated above may differ among themselves, but in some respects they are all alike and differed from the patriarchal model followed by the epic Ksatriyas To understand Indian Social Institutions one must take into account the culture contact from very ancient times between the Vedic Āryans on the one side and the Nāgas, the Nisādas, the Rākṣasas and the South Indian royal houses on the other

³⁵ I 44 21

³⁷ I 206 25

³⁸ I 207 9

³⁹ I 143 36-7

⁴⁰ I 25 1-6

ICONOGRAPHICAL ELEMENTS IN THE ĀDI PARVA

by

H D SANKALIA

Indian iconographical studies have been hitherto based on the Vedas, the epics—*Mahābhārata* *Ramāyana*, *Purānas*, *Āgamas* and later works on iconography, each source being drawn upon as it served to explain a certain image. In such studies no attempt was made either to trace the development of iconography theoretically from any one source or to trace its development objectively from the evidence of existing monuments in a particular region.

BHATTACHARYA remedied this defect with regard to Buddhist iconography both in its theoretical as well as in its objective aspect to some extent. Under his guidance a similar attempt is being made to study the Jaina iconography.

With regard to Brahmanic iconography the recent studies of Jitendra Nath BANERJEE¹ are welcome, concentrated as they are on the hitherto neglected material, viz. coins and seals and aim to deal exhaustively with the iconographical development through these. So also are the studies of COOMARASWAMY who has selected certain items from icons and sculptures and show their course through early Hindu and Buddhist literature as well as sculpture.

In all these studies the *Mahābhārata* is used as a source now and then but there has been no attempt to explore it thoroughly in the manner contemplated here. Particularly this seems to be desirable now when we have its critical text.

In the present study which covers the Ādi Parva only, besides iconographical descriptions of gods and goddesses, their names are also given and discussed, for they are connotative, as also wherever necessary the circumstances under which a given name or certain description of a deity is mentioned. Further these iconographical features, names and incidents are compared with those occurring in early inscriptions, coins and sculptures.

¹ *The Development of Hindu Iconography* Calcutta University 1941

Such a study, it is expected, will throw light not only on the relative age—the iconographical development—of a deity, but also on the subjects like the antiquity of the cult of Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa and the relative age of the particular Mahābhārata passage contributing another cultural—or higher text criticism

The subject deals with the following aspects

- (1) Invocation to a deity at the beginning of an *adhyaya* or *parva*
- (2) Names of deities, together with the description of their
 - (a) dress,
 - (b) weapons
 - (c) other emblems, and
 - (d) vahana
- (3) The circumstances under which a certain deity's description occurs

Invocation—Excepting the invocatory verse at the beginning of the Ādi Parva where salutations are first offered to Nara, Narayana and Sarasvatī, in the Ādi Parva whenever there is an invocation at the beginning of an *odhyaya* or *parva* it is usually to Brahma² and once to Guru Vyasa³. No doubt a few, North Indian and Devanagari Mss mention Ganesa even before this stanza but these are regarded late and interpolated⁴ and rightly. For archaeologically considering both the architectural sculptural and epigraphical evidence, not only the cult, but also ordinary reference to Ganesa is late⁵. So far as Gujarat-Kathiawar are concerned it may be definitely said that Ganesa's images and invocatory references⁶ in inscriptions become common in or about the 10th century A.D. And as far as the writer's knowledge goes, the same may be said about inscriptions of Northern India where as GETTY has pointed out the earliest dated epigraphical invocation to Ganesa (Vinayaka) is in the Ghatiyala (Jodhpur) inscription of A.D. 862⁷. Perhaps in the South, Ganesa became popular a century or two earlier

² 158.3

³ 155.2

⁴ I pp 3-4

⁵ Gaṇapati is not even mentioned by Varahsmihira in the list of sects flourishing in or before the 5th-6th century A.D. still BANERJEA op cit. 250 says inspite of any numismatic, sculptural and epigraphic evidence that it is presumable that the worship of Gaṇapati Vinayaka was in vogue

⁶ Cf BANERJEE *The Temple of Śiva at Bhimara* MASI No 16 (1924) pl. XII (a)

⁷ Getty *Ganesa* (1936) 30 and EI IX 279

than in the North. In the inscriptions of the Deccan-Konkan he is regularly mentioned from the Śīlāhāra times (c. A.D. 900) onwards⁷.

In sculpture, faint traces of the early form of Ganeśa have been traced by COOMARASWAMY in Amaravati Sculptures^{7a}, and recently by PARANAVITANE in a frieze of a newly excavated stūpa in Ceylon, called Kantaka Cetīṅga, of about the 1st-2nd century A.D.^{7b}, but a full-fledged figure occurs only in the 5th century Gupta temple at Bhumara.

This, the definite occurrence of a Ganeśa image in a Gupta monument, may well explain the intrusion of Gaṇapati—Vyāsa episode in the North Indian *Mohābhārata* Mss. It is also in the north, as GETTY has observed, that a personal name—Gaṇapati-nāga—appears about the same time in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudra Gupta.

If well-authenticated and dated literary evidence is examined, perhaps a similar conclusion will be drawn regarding the position of Ganeśa in literature^{7c}.

The same is not however the case with Śiva or Viṣṇu. Inscriptions from about the 5th century A.D., invoke either Brahmā, Viṣṇu or Śiva. It is about this period that the images and the cult of these gods are very strongly evident. Looking however to the tenor of the entire Ādi Parva, the one invocation to Śiva as Pinakin⁸, relegated to the footnote by the Editor, seems justified.

Names and Description of Deities

Brahmā. Among his epithets the following are most common.

Prajapati, Pītamaha or Sarvapītamaha, Paramēsthī, Sthanu, Suraguru⁹, Svayambhū.

No iconographical description occurs.

Śiva. It is not a little surprising that among his epithets in the Ādi Parva the epithet Śiva occurs but once and that too not without a variant reading¹⁰, the others are

(1) Bhaganeśtrahara (2) Devēśa (3) Devadeva, (4) Hara (5) Īśana, (6) Īśvara, (7) Kīratārūpa (8) Mahadeva, (9) Nīlakantha¹¹(?) (10) Pinaki or Pīṇādhruk (11) Sadasīva¹¹, (12) Saṅkara, (13) Sthanu, (14) Śūlapani, (15) Tripurari (16) Trjambaka, and (17) Umāpati.

⁷ According to Mr. A. V. NAIK, who is working on this period in the History Department.

^{7a} BURGESS *The Stupa at Amaravati*.

^{7b} GETTY *op. cit.* 25.

^{7c} According to PATIL, Ganeśa is not mentioned in the *Vāyu Purāṇa*.

⁸ 1.583.

⁹ 1.130.

¹⁰ 1.218.31.

¹¹ *Id.* (v.1).

¹² 1.16, P. 127 footnote 274.

Some of these are common with those of the Rudras Mrgavyādha, Śarva, Nirrti, Aja-Ekapāda, Ahirbudhnya, Pināki, Dahana, Īśvara Kapāli, Sthānu, Bhava¹³ All these may be regarded as names of Śiva Whereas all these names are significant, epithets No (1) Bhaganetrahara (7) Kīrātārūpa or (Vapu), (9) Nilakantha, (10) Pināki, (13) Sthānu, (15) Tripurārī, (16) Tryambaka, and (17) Umāpati imply the respective episodes which gave this name to Śiva, though in the Ādi Parva only the episodes implied in Nos 7 and 15 are slightly referred to

No clear idea of Śiva's anthropomorphic form is given anywhere But the story of Tilottamā tells us how one of the forms of Śiva—Sthānu, or Mahadeva—came to be four-faced It was while trying to behold this fair apsara from all quarters that the four faces were created¹⁴ Forms like Kīrāta, Samkara, Umāpati, Pinaki imply a human form, but no idea can be had of the number of arms

Most probably the number of arms were only two And the weapons associated with Śiva are *Śūla* (Śulapani),¹⁵ *trisūla*¹⁶ (the bow), *Pināka* (Pinaki¹⁷ Pinākadhṛk,¹⁸) *kr̥ti* (mahadevakṛtyam),¹⁹ and the *astras*,²⁰ among which the Pasupata seems to be the chief, called Mahāstra²¹

Early epigraphical evidence tends to give much the same conclusion And perhaps a number of other epithets of Śiva implying such episodes as the Tandava-nṛtya will be found to be late PATIL's studies in inscriptions of the Gupta period (c AD 320-500) reveal that Śiva as Bhairava was known so also his epithets Hara, Iśa, Mahadeva, Mahesvara Pasupati, Śambhu Śiva (mentioned with his linga),²² whereas the writer's studies of early inscriptions of the Deccan (c 100 BC—AD 300) show that in this period the only epithets of Śiva current were with the prefixes Śiva and Śūla and Skanda Even the epithet Sambhu is absent

These iconographical features of Śiva differ in one important respect from those of Vedic Rudra In the RgVeda Rudra carries a thunderbolt

¹³ 16013

¹⁴ 120322-6

¹⁶ According to V L 121831

¹⁸ 14422

²⁰ 122510 v 1 Mentions Pasupata

¹⁵ 14422

¹⁷ 12820

¹⁹ 1215

²¹ 1109

²² PATIL, Gupta Inscriptions and the Puranic Tradition BDCRI 2 148 ff

²³ SANKALIA Cultural Significance of Personal Names in Early Inscriptions of the Deccan BDORI 3 351 ff

didyut, a bow and arrows, according to the later Vedic texts a bow, arrows, and a bolt or a club²⁴ There is no reference to the *śūla* or *triśūla*

This weapon however is almost always associated with Śiva in early Indian coins Besides the probable *lingam* like symbol on an early indigenous coin the *triśūla* is found on the coins of the Pancala king Rudragupta other early coins and on the coin of Wema Kadphises²⁵

Similarly the earliest representations of Śiva's anthropomorphic form on the coins from Ujjain and its vicinity,²⁶ on the coins of foreign rulers Gondophares²⁷ Maues and the Kushan kings Wema Kadphises²⁸ and Vasudeva²⁹ are usually two armed and one faced But on certain Ujjain coins³⁰ as well as the coins of the Kushan kings Kanishka and Huvishka poly armed and -headed Śiva begins to appear When so armed the figure carries a number of other objects such as *vajra*, *pāsa* *kaṇḍalu*, *caṅkṛa* emblems which were reserved for other gods in an earlier period

From the comparison of Śiva's iconographical features with the Vedic and the early numismatic it would seem that his Mahabharatic features would place him somewhere between the two periods

The rarity of the epithet Śiva in the Ādi Parva cannot be explained at present For though not applied specifically to Rudra in the RgVeda, being applicable to other gods in the sense of 'auspicious', in the later period early numismatic and epigraphical as mentioned above, it was of common occurrence as an epithet and as the first part of a personal name

In the *Vayu Purāṇa*, according to the details kindly supplied by PATIL, among the epithets of Brahma the following are found Caturmukha, Sahasramūrdha Kamalagarbhabhah Pundarikaksa Hirnyagarbha Ādideva Prajapati Īśvara Mahādeva Bhūta Vibhu Yajna, Kavi, Kapila, Agni Svayambhū He is also called Narayana but this epithet has nothing to do with Viṣṇu Purusa, Svayambhū, Hirnyagarbha and Paramesthi are common epithets, but Pitamaha is not

²⁴ MACDONELL, *Vedic Mythology* 74

²⁵ BANERJEE, *op cit.* 127-9

²⁶ *Ibid.* 130

²⁷ *Ibid.* 132

²⁸ *Ibid.* 135

²⁹ *Ibid.* 140

³⁰ *Ibid.* 130

Śiva is often called Bhūtapati, Pmākapāni, Kapardin, Kapālahasta, Jatin, Dandin, Digvastra, Paśahasta, Ganānām-pati, besides Mahesvara, Śārva, Bhava, Paśupati, Rudra. The epithet Trilocana occurs but it is not very common and the story does not occur. His other epithets are Guhavāsī, Mahāyogi, Khecara, Rajanīcara and Goghna.

The epithets of both Brahma and Śiva are more varied than those found in the Ādi Parva. If they are found in all the mss. of the Vayu then it will be possible to infer a later and fuller development of the iconographical features of Śiva and also a later composition of the *Vāyu*.

VISNU Visnu has the following epithets

(1) Amitraghna,³¹ (2) Ananta,³³ (3) Cakrayudha,³⁴ (4) Damodara,³⁵ (5) Govinda,³⁶ (6) Hari,³⁷ (7) Hṛṣikeśa,³⁸ (8) Janardana,³⁹ (9) Kesava,⁴⁰ (10) Kṛṣṇa,⁴¹ (11) Madhusudana,⁴² (12) Mohini,⁴³ (13) Mūdhava,⁴⁴ (14) Nārāyaṇa,⁴⁵ (15) Purusottama,⁴⁶ (16) Vasudeva,⁴⁷ (17) Vaikuntha,⁴⁸ and (18) Yogesvara.⁴⁹

Of these of frequent occurrence besides Viṣṇu are the epithets Nārāyaṇa, Vāsudeva, and Kṛṣṇa, less frequent Keśava and Janardana, whereas Damodara, Govinda, Mohini, Vaikuntha, Yogesvara are mentioned only once.

Viṣṇu thus appears to be identified with Narayana, and Kṛṣṇa, son of Vasudeva and Devakī. However, there are certain epithets, which always come in a group or a particular context. Thus Nara and Nārāyaṇa, Kesava and Rāma (Balabhadra), Nārāyaṇa and Lakṣmī, Kṛṣṇa with Vāsudeva, Dāsārha, Purusottama, Keśava.

31 *Ibid* 135-7

33 116.14

35 1180.17

37 1122

39 1197.20 212.21

41 150.15 216.25 189.31 2147 1124 293 166

42 1191.18 210.3

44 1210.4 213.20

45 1 p. 3 15.11 16.14 and 35 219.15 1117 1710-20

46 190.91 58.49-51 199.7

48 158.49-51

32 158.49-51

34 116.6

36 1191.19 212.30

38 *Ibid*

40 1222 189.31 199.50

43 116.39

47 11193 219.15 199.6 1118-9

49 12147

a *cakra* or wheel; of such representations an "elaborate" or a double wheel and lotus symbol appearing on the reverse of a unique coin of the Vṛṣṇi Rājanyagana is regarded by BANERJEE⁵⁹ as the representation of the Sudarśana-cakra of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa. The *cakra*, though not associated with Viṣṇu in Vedic mythology then, may be the earliest Viṣṇuite symbol; Garuḍa and the *gadā* coming next, and still later such symbols as *padma*, *śaṅkha* and others which are found in figures from the 5th century onwards.

Among the epithets signifying the various exploits of Viṣṇu, two—Govinda and Dāmodara—are important, regarding the connection of Gokula or Bāla-Kṛṣṇa and the Dvārakā or Mahā(bhārata) Kṛṣṇa. The reading Dāmodara seems to be uniformly used by all Mss., for no variant reading is mentioned. It is applied to Kṛṣṇa when he and Balarāma attend the Draupadī *svayamvara*, and see the Pāṇḍavas (as brāhmanas) take away Draupadī in the face of opposition by Kṣatriyas.⁶⁰

The occurrence of the epithet Govinda also stands unchallenged but the first part of the 2nd line is doubtful,⁶¹ whereas in the second case, there is also a reading 'Mādhava'.⁶²

If both these epithets, about which the text is fairly correct and unanimous, really go back to the first or early period (about 300 B.C.) of the composition of the present *Mahābhārata*, then it may be said with some justification that by this time Viṣṇu was being identified both with the Dvārakā and Gokula Kṛṣṇa. While considering the epigraphical references it may be said that the reading 'Govinda' may not be later than the 5th century A.D., for, by this time it was already current,⁶³ whereas, as Dr. KATRE pointed out to the writer, it was regarded as a *saṁjñā-vācaḥ* (personal name) by the Vārttika on Pāṇini. Similar acquaintance with the early life of Kṛṣṇa's brother Balarāma is indicated by the latter's epithets "Vanamālī", "Nīlavāsā".⁶⁴ It is in these words that the *Bhāgavata*, an admittedly later Purāṇa than the *Mahābhārata* describes him, while Balarāma visits Gokula-Vṛndāvana again. His other epithets are Rāma,⁶⁵ and Haladhara⁶⁶ or Halāyudha.⁶⁷

⁵⁹ BANERJEE, op cit 145

⁶⁰ 1.180.17.

⁶² 1.212.30

⁶⁴ 1.212.20

⁶⁶ 1.211.7.

⁶¹ 1.191.19

⁶³ Cf Pehl, op cit 153

⁶⁵ 1.2.222. 199.50

⁶⁷ 1.211.7 (Ms. D.).

The earliest epigraphical mention of the epithet Rāma along with Keśava is in the Nasik inscription of Vāsithiputa Siri-Pulumāyi

Paraśurāma is mentioned once as Rāma, called "a wielder of weapons" (Śastrabhṛt) and placed between the Tretā and Dvāpara (yugas).⁶⁸

Twice there is a reference to Rāma Dāśarathi, in which he is described as a great sacrificer along with other former kings; and a speaker of truth respectively.⁶⁹ This delineation of Rāma as a former great king is more in keeping with his character hinted at by early inscriptions,⁷⁰ than with later purāṇic accounts which bestow divinity on him.

Sūrya has such epithets as Āditya, Arkaja, Bhāskara, Vibhāvasu.⁷¹ Neither in the critical edition nor in the expurgated passages is his full anthropomorphic form described. But Ādityas are associated with *kundalos*⁷² (a round ear-ornament). Karna is born with a *sahojo* (natural) *kovoco* and *kundolas*; ⁷³ whereas in a passage from D₄ (a mixed Devanāgarī Ms. from Tanjore)⁷⁴ Sūrya tells Kuntī that she will have a son bearing Āditya Kundalas (*ādityo kundale*) and his impregnable *kovoco*. It is therefore reasonable to assume that Sūrya in his anthropomorphic form was represented with *kundolos* and a *kovoco*.

Early sculptural evidence may be here noted. Among the North Indian representations, perhaps the earliest figure so far known is from Mathura. It wears a *kovoca*⁷⁵ and long *kundolas*.

It is interesting to observe that the Mahābhārata Śūrya does not wear high boots, which he does even in the earliest sculptural representation.

Indra and other Vedic gods also appear in the Ādi Parva. But throughout, Indra plays a prominent part, till being worsted first by Garuda and then Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna at the time of the Khāṇḍava-dāha

⁶⁸ 123

⁶⁹ 11168, 1976

⁷⁰ Cf. Nasik Inscription of Vāsithiputa Siri Pulumāyi: *EIV* VIII 60 and PATIL, *op. cit.*, appendix p. 44

⁷¹ 1.1.39-40 mention sons of Vivasvān such as Divasputra Bhṛnu Ravi—all of which were later regarded as epithets of Sūrya

⁷² 13 140

⁷³ 110411

⁷⁴ Appendix 1.59.5 (p. 906)

⁷⁵ Cf. COOMARASWAMY, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, Fig. 103., also SANKALIA, *Archaeology of Gujarat* p. 163 where all the evidence on Sūrya is discussed,

Among his epithets—(1) Āditya⁷⁶ (2) Balasūdana⁷⁷ (3) Devadeveśa⁷⁸ (4) Harivahana⁷⁹ (5) Sahasrakṣa⁸⁰ (6) Śakra⁸¹ (7) Vajrapani⁸ (8) Vajradhara⁸³ the last is common. Each of these has some cultural and iconographical element. The first Āditya connects Indra with the Sun and Viṣṇu. The second and the third hint at Indra's pre Mahābhārata role. The fourth refers to the horse—*vāhana*—of Indra⁸⁴ namely a bay horse. Indra became Sahasrakṣa (1000 eyed) while trying to see the apsara Tilottama. He was called Vajradhara because he wielded the Vajra.

Though Indra is credited with other weapons—*vajraya astras* and *sastras*—which he gave to Arjuna in the classical or historical iconography—Brahmanic, Jaina and Buddhist—he occupies a subservient role ministering either to Śiva or Viṣṇu or a Jaina Tirthankara or the Buddha. And his two characteristic emblems or marks are his *vajra* and the horse or the elephant. Perhaps the earliest figure of Indra is a Jaina sculpture from the Kanakali *tīla* (mound) at Mathura where he appears seated in *lōlitasana* with two hands, one holding the *vajra* (?)^{84a} and the other peled off.

In Buddhism he appears first in the representations of Buddha's life and then his personality was perhaps merged into that of Vajrapani.

Figures of Indra on early indigenous coins (bearing the name Indramitra) are not very distinct and hence not useful for iconographical studies. But his theriomorphic and anthropomorphic representations on the coins of Indo-Greek and-Scythians in which a conical object—mountain Śvetavata(?)—his mount the elephant, his weapons—*vajra* and a long sceptre—as well as a human figure seated and some or all of the above features not only tally partially as BANERJEA^{84b} has observed with the description of Indra's icon as given in the *Brhatsaṃhitā* but also with that given in the *Mahābhārata*.

⁷⁶ I 1216

⁷⁷ I 203 25-6

⁷⁸ I 216 I 218.13

⁷⁹ I 221

⁸⁰ I 216 and I 203 25-6

⁸ I 218.28

⁸¹ I 2628 50 12 158 49

⁸³ I 150 16

⁸⁴ His mount was also an elephant I 218 28

^{84a} SMITH the *Jaina Sūtra* As n (MS) XX pl XCVIII

^{84b} BANERJEA *op cit* 164

Perhaps his earliest (c. A.D. 400.) representation in Brahmanic iconography is on a niche or a caitya-window medallion of the Gupta Śiva temple at Bhumara in Nagod State, Central India. But here he is shown holding a sword(?) with two hands.⁸⁵ So it is not certain whether the figure is of Indra. In the subsequent period even this position he loses, and is rarely prominently represented.

Vedic and other gods are mentioned only once—that too when they turn up to assist Indra in his fight against Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna who allow Agni to burn the Khāṇḍava-vana. In this battle Indra wields the Aśani, (perhaps the same as the Vajra(?)) Yama *kāladanda*, Dhaneśvara, śibikā, Varuna, *pāśa*, Śiva (who is mentioned for the first time under this name)⁸⁶ *vicaṅga*,⁸⁷ Aśvinas, *osadhī*, Dhātā *dhanu*, Tvastā, *parvata*, Jaya, *musala*, Mṛtyu *paraśvadha*, Aryamā *parigha*, Mitra *Ksura-paryanta cakra* (a wheel sharp around), Pūsā, Bhaga, Savitā *Kārmukha*, Rudrās, Vasavas, Marutas, Viśvadevā and other gods also joined the battle.⁸⁸

On comparing the features of these gods with their Vedic features we find slight but important deviations. Aryaman, Bhaga, Mitra and Savitr are not endowed with any weapon in the Vedic period,⁸⁹ while in the *Mahābhārata* they carry *parigha*, *kārmukha*, *cakra* and a *kārmukha* respectively. Pūsā in the *Rg Veda* wields a golden spear, and an awl or a goad;⁹⁰ here a *kārmukha*. It is said to be characteristic of Tvastā in that Veda to hold an iron-axe in his hand;⁹¹ now he seizes a *parvata* (mountain). Yama does not seem to have been given any weapon in the *Rg Veda*. However he appears to be identified with death (*mṛtyu*).⁹² In this passage of the *Mahābhārata* Yama and Mṛtyu have a distinct personality; the former carries *kāladanda*, and the latter *paraśvadham*. These are evidently later features of these gods, nearer to Purāṇic times.

Varuna wielded his old Vedic weapon the *pāśa*. Who Jaya is is not clear. Probably he might be one of the door-keeper gods of Visnu.

⁸⁵ BANERJEE, "The Temple of Śiva at Bhumara," *IASI* No. 16 (1924), pl. xiv (c)

⁸⁶ According to G₁ Sadiśva

⁸⁷ According to other Mss. *trisola*, *Sula* *pinika*. See 1.218.31

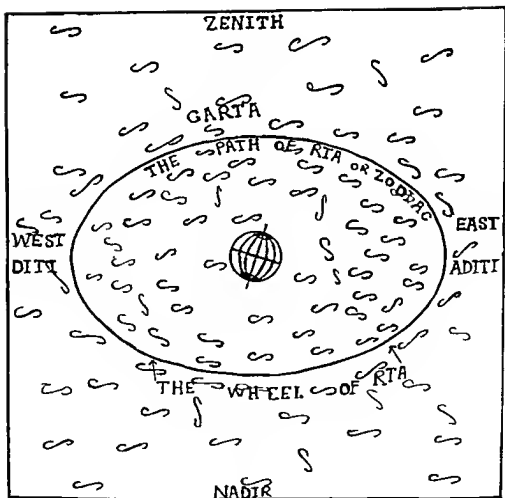
⁸⁸ 1.218.27-37

⁸⁹ Cf. MACDONELL, A. A., *Vedic Mythology*, 1897, 45, 29, 32 respectively.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 35

91 *Ibid.*, 116

⁹² *Ibid.*, 172.



THE RĠVEDIC ANTECEDENTS OF THE DHARMA-PĀŚA OF VARUṆA IN THE MAHĀBHĀRATA

By

V. M. APTE

§(i) So immense is the extent of early literature that has been absorbed in the Mahābhārata, that, inspite of the process of synthesis, revivification and reorientation to which it was subjected, it is hardly surprising that, we should occasionally stumble upon some interesting *fossils* of very ancient notions, strangely preserved in the body of the work. The mythological material of the epic, in particular, will yield a fair harvest to an investigator in this direction because in mythology *sooner* than in any other field, the critical and inquisitive attitude is apt to be relaxed and old ideas are either exaggerated, forgotten or misunderstood by a later generation.

§(ii) While reviewing the Vedic and epic characteristics of Varuṇa, in the course of my mythological studies, I came across the curious expression *dhormo-pāśo* ('the noose of Right') associated with Varuṇa in 2.9.*17 and 5.126.46, whereas elsewhere, the *pāśa* of Varuṇa is called *ghoro* (3.190.68) and *ugro* (3.221.11). In the search for an explanation of this apparent inconsistency or this double aspect of Varuṇa's *pāśa*, the problem of the origin and development of the *pāśo* conception in Vedic literature had to be investigated into and the results of my inquiry into the earliest (i.e. the RgVedic) antecedents of Varuṇa's *pāśas* provided a solution, which it is the object of this paper to present. Before I turn to an examination of this RgVedic evidence, a fairly complete account of the *pāśas* in the Mahābhārata must be given.

§(iii) In the Great Epic, the noose or fetter (*pāśa*) is *predominantly*, though not *exclusively* associated with Varuṇa. I say 'not exclusively' because the epic associates it also with Yama and even 'Kāla' and 'Mr̥tyu'. The epic is not consistent in its treatment of the latter two

*In the first five Parvans, the references are to the Critical edition; in the rest, to the Bombay edition of the Mahābhārata.

terms. They seem to be used sometimes of Yama himself, whereas a review of all the passages employing them indicates that each of the three—Yama, Kāla and Mrtyu—has a distinct individuality of his own, the order of superiority being Kāla, Yama and Mrtyu. A consideration of the earliest antecedents and subsequent evolution of the *pāśa* conception reveals that the association of it with Yama is a later development. In the RV, the *pāśa* is almost an exclusive instrument of control and punishment of Varuna. Yama there is credited only with a *pod-biśa* (*pod-vīśa* in the Vājasaneyi Samhitā XXV.38.39) meaning 'footfetter' or 'hobble'. How Yama gradually came to be possessed of a *pāśa* is easily understood. Varuna is, in the first place, one of the three individual gods, in whose company Yama is referred to (RV X.14.7) as rejoicing in the offering to the dead, in the world of the Pitrs. Secondly, when Yama, already an object of dread in the RV, owing to some of his traits [such as death being the path of Yama (RV.X.165.4; cf. also Maitrāyaṇī-Samhitā II.5.6; Atharva-veda VI.28.31; 93.1 etc.)] and particularly because of his messengers, came to be ultimately a god of death, his closer association with the terrors of death in the AV. and later mythology helped the identification. What should be more natural, then, that, in the epic, Yama, the god of Death, the King of the *Pitrs* (3.297.17) should share the possession of a *pāśa* with Varuna (his RgVedic cosharer in the offering to the dead, in the world of the *Pitrs*), particularly as the *pāśa* is the most suitable instrument or contrivance to noose the soul of the dying (Mbh. II.4.11)? This process was hastened by another circumstance also. The Epic always connects the name of Yama with the sense of 'restraining' (compare *Yamaḥ samyamātām ahom* in 6.34.29 = Bhagavadgita X.29 and *projōsamyamano Yomoḥ* in 3.297.66), although this derivation is not borne out by the evidence of the RgVeda, in which the word *Yamā* which is the name of the god—a twin with *Yamī*—and which has also the appellative meaning of 'twin' in several passages is quite distinct from the word *Yāma* (with a different accent) meaning 'rein' or 'guide' in a few places.

§(iv) To turn now to the Mahābhārata account of Varuna's *pāśas* :—1.228.31 speaks of the *pāśas* of Varuṇa, and the *Kāladando* of Yama. In 8.42.36, Karna tells Śalya that he is not afraid of even Varuna, the bearer of the *pāśa* or of the son of Vivasvat (Yama) the bearer of the rod (*dando*). Both these passages which refer to the *dando* as the

characteristic weapon of Yama and as parallel to the *pāśa* of Varuṇa bear out the view advanced above that the association of the *pāśa* with Yama is a later development. 3.190.68 refers to Varuṇa who could kill with horrible (*ghora*) nooses (or fetters), a sinner (even a king) who offended a priest. 3.221.11 tells us that Varuṇa carries his peculiar weapon, the formidable (*ugra*) noose, even while moving in a procession. In 12.95.20cd, and 21ab, Bhīṣma tells Yudhisthira that 'the sinful sceptic, though claimed by death thinks himself immortal, though bound with the fetters (*pāśas*) of Varuṇa and puffed up like a (puffed out) skin does not keep to (the path of) good deeds (or merit)'. Here the stuff of which the fetters of Varuṇa are made, is hinted at as non-material or unearthly, exactly as in the RgVeda (as we shall see subsequently). Verse 21ab again reminds us of RV. VII.89.2ab where Varuṇa is implored to be merciful to the suppliant who laments that 'he goes forth puffing like a puffed skin'. It is possible, though not beyond doubt, that dropsy is intended here or in the RV. as a noose (compare the RgVedic verse VII.89.4ab of which this is a parody). The power to control and restrain (*saṁyama*) is a special attribute of Varuṇa in 2.69.16 where it is said to be typical of Varuṇa and as such worthy of emulation by Yudhisthira, as also in 1.19.6 where the home of Varuṇa is called 'the place of confinement (*bandhanam*) for the Asuras'.

§(v) Whereas however, the picture of Varuṇa's *pāśas* that these passages depict is a grim one, there are two passages (2.9.17; 5.126.46) which associate with Varuṇa a *pāśa* (or *pāśas*) of beneficent aspect—an instrument of healthy restraint. In 2.9.17 we are told that in the *Varunasabhā*, gods, daityas and all, of perfectly correct conduct waited upon the great god Varuṇa 'abiding as they were, within his *dharma-pāśas* (*dharmapāśasthitāḥ*)'. The context clearly shows that the *dharma-pāśas* (or 'bonds or fetters of Right') belong to Varuṇa. In fact for pāda b (*dharma-pāśasthitāḥ sadā*), the critical apparatus provided by the Editor actually records the variant '*dharmapāśa-dharmasadā*' [(they waited upon Varuṇa) 'who always carried the noose of Right'] of manuscripts N₁, V₁, BD and the variant *dharmapāśa-karam sadā* ('carrying always in his hand the noose of Right') of manuscript B₃. In 5.126.46 Varuṇa is described as binding the Daityas and Dānavas handed over 'bound' to him, with his own *pāśas* as well as

with the *dharmā-pāśas*. In both these passages, the function of the *dharmā-pāśas* seems to be merely of a *restraining type* because in 2.9.17, those that abide within the *dharmā-pāśas* are already 'observers of correct conduct' and in 5.126.46, there is no scope for the grim aspect of the *pāśas* as the *Daityas* are already 'bound' and are merely guarded (not tortured or punished) with the *dharmā-pāśas*.

§(vi) How are the two sets of passages to be reconciled? One explanation would be that Varuna is described as wielding two types of *pāśas*—one of beneficent, another of maleficent aspect. Another explanation would be to interpret *dharmā-pāśa* as a metaphor meaning 'restrictions imposed by Right'. This, however, does not suit the second passage, 5.126.48, where the expression is 'having bound them with the *dharmā-pāśas* and with his own *pāśas*.' The correct explanation of this inconsistency is yielded by tracing the earliest antecedents of this *dharmā-pāśa* in the *Rgveda*, where in my view *ṛtá* (the later equivalent of which is *dhorman* or *dharmo*) represents the *pāśa* of Varuna. The question whether this word *ṛtá* (under which name is recognized the Cosmic Order or Law prevailing in nature and which designates 'order' in the moral world as 'right' and in the religious world as 'rite') stands for an abstract conception *right from the beginning* or whether there was a natural basis for this *ṛtá* (which enjoys divine status in the RV.), as for many other RV. gods, will also have to be examined.

THE CONCEPTION OF VARUNA'S FETTERS IN THE R̥GVEDA

§1 The fetters of Varuna are often mentioned in the R̥gVeda, explicitly as well as implicitly. In fact the term *pāsa** being used almost exclusively in connection with Varuna is distinctive of him. What may be the basis of this awe inspiring conception which is, in a way, responsible for the character of the god as a moral governor, in which capacity he towers over all the other deities of the R̥gVedic pantheon? BERGAINNE¹ thinks that the tying up of the waters should explain the origin of the conception. HILLEBRANDT² believes that it follows from the fetters of night. To MACDONALI,³ 'it seems to be sufficiently accounted for by the figurative application of the fetters of criminals to moral guilt'. But if this (last) were a complete explanation of the *pāsa* conception then the *pāsas* may have been predominantly associated with Varuna but not *exclusively* because the character of all the R̥gVedic gods is moral, they all get angry with the sinner and some of them like Indra punish moral guilt. Besides there still remains the task of searching for the divine counterpart of the fetters used by earthly kings to punish criminals.

§2 My study of the forty (40) relevant hymns—8 to Varuna, 23 to Mitra and Varuna and 9 to Indra and Varuna and the 423 passages outside these hymns in which Varuna is mentioned either alone or along with Mitra or (and) Indra, Aryaman and other deities, has led me to a new conclusion, which throws unexpected light on the term *dharmopāsa* (the noose of Right) used in the Mahābhārata⁴ for the noose carried by Varuna. The evidence for this conclusion I propose to state and examine now.

§3 Passages in which the *pāsas* of Varuna are directly mentioned are the following—1.24.15⁵ 25.21⁶ show that the fetters were three,

*This word is to be read as *pāsa* throughout.

¹ *La Religion Védique*

Védique Mythologie

² *Védic Mythologie* 26

³ *Mahābhārata* 2.9.17

⁵ *ud attamam varuna pāsaṁ amad ācādhānam ei madhyanam vathāya |
athā capam ād iya vrate śāntāyasa ad tane vyāma || 1.24.15*

⁶ *ud attamam mu-urghī na ei pāsam madhyanam eṣṭa ei ādhānti ścūm || 1.25.21*

the topmost, the middle one and the lowest one. Interesting is the suggested method of release from this triple *pāsa* which he d a victim (Sunahśēpa for example) in bondage. The topmost one was to be disentangled by being thrown off (the head) upwards the lowest one by being thrown off (the feet) downwards but the middle one was to be loosened slackened or relaxed apart ($\sqrt{\text{srath}}$ with *vi*) or untied ($\sqrt{\text{crt}}$ with *vi*). The latter root used in the past participle form in II 27 16⁷, where the *pāsas* of the Ādityas (of whom Varuna is the chief) are said to be untied or loosened for (ie against) a rogue (*ripave vicrtitāh*) lets us in, on a new aspect of this untying operation which seems to cut both ways! The fetters, it seems could be loosened around or untied and then spread out as a trap to catch the unwary *ripu* to be tightened round him immediately he is trapped and could be loosened off the victim when he was to be set free! I 24 13⁸ gives us a novel piece of information (not repeated elsewhere) that the *pāsas* were to be removed from a victim (Sunahśēpa) who was made fast to three (wooden) stocks [*dru pada* lit., wooden foot (stool)] This must evidently be brought in a line with the above description of the offender or victim tied up in three places.

This triple character has become such a distinctive trait of Varuna's bond that when in I 163 4⁹ the steed (*arṇant*) is credited with three ties (*bandhanāni*) in heaven three in the waters and three in the Ocean he appears (to the poet) to be Varuna as it were!

In V 27 10 there is a prayer to Agni 'You released the bound Sunahśēpa from the thousand (—fold?) *yupa* (once) disentangle similarly the *pāsas* from us (now)'. The mention of Sunahśēpa makes it clear that the fetters belong to Varuna (see I 24 12 and 13) and that Agni exercises his good offices on behalf of the victim to secure his release therefrom. In the same way in VI 74 4¹¹ Soma and Rudra

⁷ *yu vo māyā abh drūhe yajatrāh pāsā ād tyā r pave v cṛttāh |*
astiva tām aśi yesam rathenārista uṣas a sarman syāma || II 27 16

⁸ *sunahśepa hy ahuṣad gṛbh tas tr sv ād tyam drupaḍesu baddhāh |*
avuinam r ja varunaḥ sasṛjyad v dṛvam adabdhṛo vi mumuktu pāsān || I 24 13

⁹ *trigī ta ahur d vi bandhanani trīny apsu tr ny antaḥ samud e |*
uteva me varunaś cchanīsy aroan yatrā ta āhuḥ paramam jan tram || I 163 4

¹⁰ *sunas e c chepam n d tam sahasrād yūpād amuṇca asam sta hi sah*
śāsmad agne vi mumugdh pāsān lātas ciktī a ha iū i adya || V 27

¹¹ *pr no muncatam varuṇasja pāsād |* VI 74 4

In VII.84.2,¹⁴ Mitra and Varuna are said to bind (*sinīthóh* from \sqrt{si} , to bind) with bonds (*setibhuh*, from the same root), not made of ropes. So the stuff of which the bonds are made is not earthly. What this stuff is, it is the purpose of this paper to find out.

VI.67.1^{ed15} refers to the Matchless Two, Mitra and Varuna, the most efficient controllers (*yámiṣṭhā*) who pull in or control (*sám*..... *yomōtuh*) the people with their own arms (*bōhúbhih swaih*) as if with a cord (*rásmō*, I.S.). The importance of this passage for ascertaining the nature of the controlling apparatus used by the All-Controller (or—Controllers) cannot be over-estimated: The root *yam* with *sám* is used in the sense 'to pull in (the reins)', in I.144 3d; the word *yámo(n.)* itself is used in the sense of 'rein' in V 61.2^d. The verse thus vividly portrays the Two as pulling in the people with the reins of their arms which thus serve for *pāśas* as it were, in a good sense. A similar use of their arms is hinted at in V.64.1^{ed,16} which speaks of Mitra and Varuna, encompassing like two pens (*vrajō*), the sun-hero within their arms. These arms play an important part in the movements of the two gods 'who set themselves in motion (as if on a car) with their arms, in the company of the Sun's rays' (VIII.101.2^{ed}).¹⁷ The act of encompassing or pulling in is very fittingly described as taking place through the movement of the arms.

In I.122.15^{ed,18} 'the car of Mitra and Varuna which shines like the Sun has a long forepart and has straps for hands (*syāmo-gaḥastih*). GELDNER¹⁹ rightly points out that the car itself is compared to the person of the two gods. So then, the comparison of their hands to the straps or cords of the *rótha* is in a line with the suggested comparison of their arms to cords or reins in the preceding section.

¹⁴ *Yuvá rāstrām bṛhád īnavatī dyaur yau setibhur arajjúbhih sinītháh |
pári no hílo rárunasya vṛjyā urúm na índrah kṛnavad u lohám || VII 84 2*

¹⁵ *sám yā rásméva yamátur yámiṣṭhā dvā jānām āsamū bāhúbhih swaih VI.67.1^{ed}*

¹⁶ *Varunam vo rīśādasam ṛcā mitrām havōmahe |
pári vrajéva bṛhuvōr jaganvūmā śā nāram || V 64 1*

¹⁷ *tā bṛh-tā nā darsánā ratharyatah sākām sūryasya rásmibhih || VIII 101 2.^{ed}*

¹⁸ *rátha vām mitrāvarunā dīrghāpsāh syāmagabhastih sūra nādyaut || I.122.15^{ed}*

¹⁹ *Der R̥gveda, abersetzt und erklärt*

The association of 'reins or controlling cords' (*athī'u*) with Mitra and Varuna is further seen in VIII.25.24²⁰ ' (I have attained to) the Two sages (*vīprā*) equipped with reins (*smāḍabhiṣū*) and provided with a whip (*kāśā*). ' The *kāśā* is the same as the *aiśjanī* to which the column of ore (*ayas*), adorned with gold forming part of the *Kṣātrām* (dominion) of the two gods and shining in heaven is compared in V.62.7 (see also V.62.6 and 8) and is the lightning. For our purposes, however, it is only necessary to note that the *reins or controlling cords of Mitra and Varuna are in action high up in heaven* as in all the other passages. The passage VII.65.3²¹ speaks of Mitra and Varuna as the (personified) Bonds i.e. Binders of *ānta* (*sītu*, from $\sqrt{\text{si}}$, to bind), but it will be considered in detail in another context, along with other *sītu* passages, in a later section

§5. We now take up passages where there is, according to MACDONELL, 'a figurative application of the fetters of criminals to moral guilt'²¹, through similes where Varuna is prayed to by the supplicant for release from his own *sin*, misdeeds or evil or Varuna's anger as if the latter themselves were the fettering cords or ropes (*dāman*, *ra'antā* etc.) of Varuna holding him in a vice-like grip. Thus in II.28.5²² the poet implores Varuna to 'slacken sin (*āgas*) off him as if it were a (fettering) rope (*ra'antā*)'; in II.28.6²³, 'to disentangle evil (from him) like the halter (*dāman*) from a calf.' In VII.86.5²⁴ we have an exchange or mix-up of the *upamā*-parts or correspondences in the simile e.g. Varuna is implored 'to release or set free the misdeeds 'of' (in the sense, 'from') the Vasiṣṭhas (whether committed by themselves or their fathers), as (one should set free) a calf from the halter (*dāman*)

²⁰ *Smāḍabhiṣū kāśāi antā vīprā nācīṣṭhaya māti |*
mahī vājīnāv ārantū śacāsanam || VIII 25 24

²¹ *Vedic Mythology*, 26

²² *ī māt chrathūya rāśanām āga dāhyāma te varuṇa kṣām ṛśasya | II.28.5.*

²³ *dāmanā rāśād ī mumaḡdhy āmho nahī śād āre nimitāś canēś || II.28.6.*

²⁴ *āra druzdānt pītryā śṛjā nā ' va gā vāśmā cakṛmā tanūbī h |*
āva vājan pāśuśṛpam nā vāśmā śṛjā rāśām nā dāmano vāśiṣṭham || VII 86 5

§6 In the following passages, the fetters are not mentioned in so many words either directly or though a simile belongs to Varuna but suggested *beyond doubt* by the employment of similar verb forms and a context identical with that in the passages cited in the preceding sections 1 24 14^d,²⁵ and V 85 7^d,²⁶ implore king Varuna to shed or let loose (*sirathoh* and *sirathoh* respectively) sins off the suppliant (as if they were shackles) The verb forms *grbhīch* [seized (with bonds)] and *mumoktu* ('may he release') in V 12 of 1 24²⁷ point to the same bonds by implication in view of the unmistakable *Suah* (*ṣa* context In IV 1 4²⁸ Agni is appealed to to calm down the anger of Varuna and loosen (*pro mumugdhi*) all malice and hatred from the suppliants In V 85 8^b,²⁹ the god is implored to *discharge* or *rip apart* all offences—consciously or unconsciously committed—as if they were (bonds) ['slackened' or 'entwined' according as we interpret *sithirā* Whatever the interpretation our proposition remains unaffected] In other words that which belongs to Varuna (*Vorunycm*) has come to mean in the RV 'the *pō a* of Varuna' in the relevant context (where a guilty conscience fears punishment) as for example in X 97 16³⁰ 'May they, the Osadhis, release me from (curse) of malediction, from (the scourge) of Varuna and from the foot fetter of Yama, (in fact) from all offence against the gods'

§7 Though thus some of the passages cited above lend colour to the hypothesis that moral guilt was transformed by poetic fancy and religious fervour into a kind of fetter, there also emerges from a careful consideration of all the inconsistencies of metaphors and figurative applications (pointed out above) the construction that when a person

²⁵ *kṣayann asrabhyam asura pracetā rājann enāms sirathah kṛtāni* || 1 24 14^{ed}

²⁶ *vesam va nityam varuṇarāṇam va yaj s m āgas cakṛmā sirathas tat* || V 85 7^{ed}

²⁷ *sunahsepo yam ahvad grbhī tah sa asmān rājā varuno mumoktu* || 1 24 12^{ed}

²⁸ *tvam na agne varunasya vṛdvan devasya halo va yās sithāh |*
yaj sitho vahn tamah sosucāna v sa devasṛsi pra mumugdhj asmat || IV 1 4

²⁹ *k tavāso yad riripur na d vi yad vā ghā satyam uta yan na v dma |*
sarva tā vi sya sithireva devādhā te syāma varuna prijāsah || V 85 8

³⁰ *muncantu ma sapathvād atho varanyad aia |*
atho yamasja padhidsat sarvasmad devah tṛīyat || X 97 16

committed a sin, the sin, as it were, stuck to the sinner because both appear to be tied to each other by the fetters of Varuṇa, which were thus something outside the two and not 'identical with sin'.³¹ Thus an offence or guilt was, in a sense, (literally) 'fastened' on the offender or the guilty party, in the language of these R̥gVeda citations where 'separate the (moral) crime from the criminal' or *vice versa* (the criminal from the crime) is almost a refrain!

§8. If the use of the fetters is thus a perfectly natural function of Varuṇa—the All-Binder, we expect that there should be some evidence in the R̥gVeda, pointing to his original character as the 'Unbound' or the 'Bondless One' in a very special sense, nay, in a marked manner in the R̥gVeda. And this expectation is amply fulfilled. "Though other gods, Agni, Savitr, Sun, Dawn, Heaven and Earth are petitioned to pardon sin, the notion of releasing from it is much more closely connected with Aditi and her son Varuṇa, whose fetters that bind are characteristic, This notion is nearly allied to the etymology of the name. The word *aditi* is primarily a noun meaning 'unbinding', 'bondlessness', from *di-ti* 'binding, derived from the root *da* 'to bind'. The past passive participle of this verb is employed to describe *śunah'epa* 'bound' (*di-ta*) to the stake (V.2.7). Hence as a goddess Aditi is naturally invoked to release her worshippers like a tied (*baddha*) thief (VIII.67.14). The original unpersonified meaning of 'freedom' seems to survive in a few passages of the RV.³² He further adds³³ (in another context), "The expression *oditeḥ putrōḥ*, sons of Aditi, several times applied to the *Ādityas* in the RV., may in the pre-Vedic period have simply meant 'sons of freedom' (like *sohasaḥ putroḥ*, son of strength) as describing a prominent quality of Varuṇo and cognate gods." The conclusion which I draw from these two passages quoted (italics being mine) from MACDONELL'S account of Aditi (a conclusion not drawn by that scholar, however) is the following.—The epithet *Ādityo* applied to Varuṇa and the expression '*aditeḥ putroḥ*' (son of Freedom) which he shares with the *Ādityas*, of whom he is the chief, constitute unmistakable

³¹ This is the implication of MACDONELL'S explanation of the *pāśas*, for which see section 1.

³² MACDONELL, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 121, l. 15ff.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 122, l. 40 ff.

evidence of Varuna's original character as the 'Unbound' or the 'Bondless One'! His power of releasing from the bonds of physical suffering and moral guilt is perfectly in keeping with, nay, *directly deducible* from the etymological meaning of the epithets *Āditya* or *aditeh putrah* (IV.42.4³⁴) so frequently applied to this Chief of the *Ādityas*! Incidentally, I may offer a solution of a puzzle regarding Aditi to which MACDONELL³⁴ has given expression thus: 'But how are we to account for so early a personification of such an abstract idea and in particular for Aditi becoming the mother of the *Ādityas*?' Varuna the *Āditya*, is connected with *rtā* in a special sense (as I propose to show in a subsequent section); so is *Aditi*. This *rtā* (next) has for its natural basis the belt of the Zodiac (the proposition is advanced with the necessary evidence in the sequel in this paper). Now the *devas*, the Lights of heaven, seemed to the ancients to recover their freedom from the clutches of darkness and to begin their bright career from a fixed point in the East, lying on the belt of the Zodiac (*rtā*) This point was *Aditi*. No wonder that the luminaries, suddenly emerging thus into freedom and light, (emerging, in other words, *into life itself*) from this fixed point *Aditi*, received the epithet 'sons of *Aditi*'. *Diti* was the exactly opposite point, on the path of the Zodiac in the West, where the Lights went out, being caught in the meshes of darkness. It will thus be not necessary to suppose³⁵ that "the name of *Diti* as a goddess seems to be merely an antithesis to that of *Aditi*, formed from the latter to express a positive sense, as *sura*, 'god', was later (by false etymology) evolved from *asura*, 'demon'." (I draw attention to the explanatory figure of the Zodiac added at the end of this paper for further light on my view)

§9. This exclusive and (yet) fundamental trait of Varuna's character whereby he appears as a *pāśin* (Binder) is just another version of Varuna as the All-Encompasser. It is not the purpose of this paper to establish the writer's conclusions regarding the natural basis of Varuna drawn chiefly from the evidence of the *RgVeda*. I state them briefly here in so far as they tend to explain and emphasize the character of Varuna as the 'All-Enveloper', 'the All-Pervader'. This aspect of his character easily explains the towering and *pre-eminent* position of Varuna as

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 122, l. 31 ff

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 123, l. 50 ff

a *samrōj*, when the supreme laws of the physical and moral world are contemplated. In keeping with this aspect, is his rôle, as the custodian of *ṛtō*, which is almost a deity in the RgVeda, which like a *pōśo* or wheel circumscribes the Universe, regulates it and keeps it in its place, the physical basis of which is the belt of the Zodiac which no luminary (*devo*) may deviate from (as shown hereafter) and the penalty for transgression whereof, is ensnarement by the shackles of non-*ṛtō* or darkness and death. This is one side or explanation of Varuṇa's all-encompassing character. Another important side or explanation (unfortunately missed by most scholars) is Varuṇa's *overlordship of the Waters* which are far more intimately connected with him in the RgVeda than is generally supposed. The nature of these 'Waters' requires to be carefully investigated into. The researches of WARREN³⁶ and TILAK³⁷ in this connection have not received the attention they deserve. My own conclusions (which must form the subject of a separate paper) in which I agree with the two scholars in so far as the cosmic character of the so-called 'Waters' is concerned but in which I differ from Tilak as regards the natural basis of Varuṇa in the RgVeda may be briefly indicated here :—

(1) The Waters are both terrestrial and celestial. The attributes of the latter in the RV. cannot all be satisfactorily accounted for, on the hypothesis that they are rain-waters.

(2) The release of the Waters and the breaking forth of the Dawn or the emergence of light are described as simultaneous events (I. 164. 51 etc.).

(3) In fact, the movement of the Waters and the spreading forth of the rays of light spring up from the same source and follow the same path (of *ṛtō*) *simultaneously*.

(4) These Waters are described as moved *upwards* by Indra when set free for movement, *simultaneously with the luminaries* after the killing of Vṛtra (II. 15.6 ; I. 80.5, 32 etc.). Their downward movement is, of course, described as for example in VIII.69.11 where the Seven Rivers are said to flow into the jaws of Varuṇa as into a surging abyss or ocean.

³⁶ *Paradise Found* (10th edn.) 1893.

³⁷ *The Arctic Home in the Vedas*, 233-96.

(5) The world is said to have consisted of nothing but undifferentiated Waters in the beginning (X.82.6; 129.3). These Waters were coeval with the world (X.30.6).

(6) The cosmic circulation of the celestial Waters and the simultaneity of the free flow of the Waters and the rising of the Dawn are unambiguously stated in the Avesta.³⁸

(7) This theory of the cosmic circulation of the Waters is not peculiar to Indo-Iranian mythology but is found in Greek and Egyptian mythologies also. In other words the celestial waters which pervaded the regions, above, below and around the earth were supposed by the RgVedic poets to be the stuff out of which the Universe was created (X.129.1 and 3 ff.) The sum up, the theory propounded by WARREN and TILAK that the (Celestial) Waters or watery vapours [from which the world was supposed to have been created according to the Śatapatha Brahmana XI.1.6.1; Atareya Br. I.1 and the Menusmṛiti I.9] were envisaged by the RgVedic poets as something like the nebulous mass of matter or the ether of modern scientists, has suffered undeserved neglect.

§10. Unfortunately TILAK did not see the logical conclusion of this theory, namely, that a complete and satisfactory explanation of the RgVedic account of Varuna as the All-Pervader or All-Encompasser was thus forthcoming from his rulership of the all-pervading, (ether-like) Cosmic Waters.¹ Carried a little too far by his Arctic theory, (which, incidentally, will have to be more carefully scrutinized before being brushed aside) he ventures the suggestion that 'Mitra and Varuna were originally conceived as two correlated deities, for, according to our theory, they would represent half-year-long light and darkness in the Paradise of the Aryan race.³⁹ This is clearly impossible, because in the RV., Varuna, true to his form, as the All-Encompasser rules over both the spheres—that of light as well as darkness, night and day. It is true that certain grand cosmical functions such as those of supporting or establishing heaven and earth or creating the two worlds, producing the sun and placing it in the sky and making a path for it or spreading out the earth,

³⁸ *Vendidad*, XXI.4-5, *Yasht* VI.2 and 3 etc

³⁹ *The Arctic Home in the Vedas*, p. 351

upon heaven and earth and the firmament (V.85.3); the spectacle of the streams constantly pouring water into, but yet not inundating even one *samudrā* (V.85.6); his strange association with that bizarre crowd—the scorpion, the crawling creature, the nesting bird and the swelling animal (VII 50.1), the lament of his praiser 'overtaken by thirst even in the midst of water (VII.89.4), his capacity to see even with closed eye-lids (VII.25.9) are a few of the puzzling facts and feats mentioned of Varuna alone or with Mitra. The reference to the secret meeting of Mitra and Varuna and their occult power in VII 60 10^b, Varuna's special knowledge of the secret names of the Dawns (VIII.41.5), his appellation 'mystery sea (*samudra*)' (VIII 41.8') further deepen the atmosphere of mystery and secrecy about Varuna! No wonder, the fitting epithet *māuim* for which the variant, *yakṛin* is once used (in VII 88 6) is chiefly applied to Varuna among the gods: VI 48.14; VII 28 4; X 99 10, 147.5

We have touched upon these aspects of Varuna here, as encompassing power, craft (*māyā*) and secrecy are just the attributes we should expect in a *pāśin* (i.e. one who uses a noose). Having thus established that the *pāśa* concept is fundamental to Varuna's character as the Restrainer or All-Binder, we now turn to his intimate connection with *rtā*, so as to lead up to our main proposition regarding the physical basis of that concept.

II RTĀ, THE SPECIAL CHARGE OF VARUNA.

§13 The very special relation of Varuna to *rtā* is so universally admitted that some more important aspects only of this relationship may be pointed out here. Varuna alone or with Mitra and (or) other gods like Aryaman, or with the *Ādityas* is called *rtāvan*, possessor or lord of *rtā* in I.136 4^d; 151.4^b; II.27.4^d; 28 6^b; III.56 8^c; IV.1.2^c; 42 4^c; V.65 2^d; 67.4^b; VII.49.7^b; 62.3^b; 66.13^a; VIII.25.4^c; 7^c, 8^c. Furtherers or Prosperers of *rtā* (*rtāvrdh*) is an epithet applied to Mitra and Varuna jointly in I.2 8^a; II.41.4^b; III 62.18^d; V.65 2^d; VII.66.13^a, 19^d. Mitra, Varuna and Aditi, in VI.51.3^a, and Mitra and Varuna in V.63.1^a; VII.64.2^a are described as Protectors of *rtā* (*rtāsyā gopā*). Varuna, Mitra and Agni receive the appellation 'rtā-munded' (*rtā-dhitayah*) in VI.141.10^d; Mitra and Varuna are designated the 'cherishers of *rtā* (*rtā-sprśah*) in V.67.4^a. The title *rtāyan* (acting according to *rtā*) is used of Varuna in V.41.1^a; VII.87.1^c. Varuna is called *rtacit* (intent upon *rtā*) in VII 85.4^a and 'the leader (netṛ) of *rtā* in VII.40 4^a,

§14. This special connection, showing as it were that *rtó* is the special charge of Varuna is indicated in other ways also. *Rtó* is expressly stated as *their own* or to belong to Mitra and Varuna in I.151.6^a and V.62.1^a. The streams are said to follow Varuna's *rtó* (II.28.4^b).⁴⁸ Varuna says he alone (not Indra) held heaven in the seat of *rtá* (IV.42.4 see section 22). Mitra and Varuna are said to bring success to *rtā* (I.151.3^c). The path of *rtā* is said to be their own (VII 65.3^{cd}).⁴⁹ This relationship is almost taken for granted in the RV., so that Agni is said to become Varuna when he goes for *rtā* (X.8.5^b).⁵⁰ Mitra and Varuna are said to proclaim or herald *rtā* (I.151.4^b 51; VIII.25.4^e). VI.51.1⁵² is an interesting verse! It expresses first the well-known idea that the Sun is the eye of Mitra and Varuna and then adds that it (the Sun) is the bright face of *rtó*! This amounts to saying (*poetically though*) that the face of *rtā* is the eye of the two gods! That this is no poetic fancy but a hard fact is seen from V.66 1⁵³ where Varuna is actually called *rtā-peśas*, [i.e. having *rtā* as his (ornamented) form].

§15. Varuna's distinctive—nay, almost exclusive—epithet *dhttdvrata* (one who maintains the *vratós*) is evidence of the same close connection of Varuna with *rtó*. After a detailed examination verse by verse, of all the *vratā*-passages in the RV, I have shown, in my monograph 'All about *vratā* in the RgVeda, (B. D. C. R. I. III 4) that if the literary evidence unfolding the semantic evolution of the meanings of the word in the RgVeda is at all to be relied on and if the hints dropped by the RgVedic poets themselves regarding the derivation of the word *vrotó* [as in I.183.3^b; *onu vrotāni vārtate*, where *vratāni* is the cognate object of the intransitive verb *vrt*, allied to it, etymologically] are to be any guide, then the word must be derived from the root *vrt* ('to proceed', 'turn' 'roll', 'move on', 'turn round' etc.) rather than from $\sqrt{\text{vr}}$, to enclose, cover or guard or from $2\sqrt{\text{vr}}$ to choose. Thus the primary

⁴⁸ *rtām sindhavo varuṇasya yanti* | II.28 4^b.

⁴⁹ *rtāsya mitrā varuṇā pathā ām* || VII 65 3^c

⁵⁰ *bhūvo varuṇo yād . tāya vē* | X.8 5^b

⁵¹ *itācānāi rtām ā ghoṣatha bṛhāt* | I.151 4^b (b = VIII.25.4)

⁵² *ūd u tyāc cākṣur māhi mitrāyor ām ēta priyā sāmānāni*,
rtāsya sūci darśatām ānibam rātrō rā dīcā dīcā || VI.51 1.

⁵³ *varuṇāya rtāpeśase dadhīta prājase mahi* || V.66.1^a.

meaning of the word in the RgVeda and especially in the compound *dhrtóvrata* is, ' (fixed) passage, way, (circular) path, (settled) route, (beaten) track, channel or bed.' Now these *vrótas* are, in I.65.2, mentioned as *those* of (i.e. *lying along*) *rtá* (*rtásya vrótó*) and must therefore signify 'the paths (of the luminaries) extending along *rtá* (the zodiac, as I propose to show later). What should be more natural than that Varuna, the special custodian of *rtá* should be exclusively called the 'Keeper of the *vrótas* or routes laid by him for the luminaries along the *rtá* or in short, *dhrtóvrata*?

III. THE ZODIAC-THE PHYSICAL BASIS OF RTÁ (COSMIC ORDER).

§15. What is this *rtá*? MACDONELL gives the following beautiful and succinct account of the meanings⁵⁴ *accepted so far*. "The cosmic order or law prevailing in nature is recognised under the name of *rtá* (properly the 'course' of things), which is considered to be under the guardianship of the highest gods. The same word also designates 'order' in the moral world as truth and 'right' and in the religious world as sacrifice or 'rite'. The last meaning has on Avestan counterpart in 'aša', order, which is one of the many identical terms connected with the ritual, in the RgVeda and the Avesta.

There is no doubt that this is a correct account of the meanings of *rtá*, in a fairly large number of passages in the RV. My proposition is that there is an equally large number of passages there, which betray (what we may call) the primary or the fundamental physical sense of the word which represents (in other words) the natural or physical basis of the very abstract (and therefore, very likely, not the original) conception of *rtá* as 'Cosmic- or World-Order'. If the Shining Ones (*devas*, or luminaries like the Sun, Dawn etc.) are described frequently as born in *rtá*, if the path (*póth* or *pothi*), the womb (*yóni*), the seat or abode (*sódona* or *dhāmon*), the peak or altitude (*śṛṅga*), the bottom (*budhno*), the cavity or well (*kṛhō*), the ridge or top (*sōnu*) and finally the wheel (*cohrō*) of *rtá* are mentioned time and again in the RgVeda, this should normally be accepted as clear and unmistakable evidence of the original *spatial* character of *rtá*, which, from all these indications appears to have described *a well-defined figure in the geometry of the RgVedic universe, holding within*

⁵⁴ *Vedic Mythology*, 11.

Two, at the awakening of the Dawn, simultaneously with the rays of the Sun, (the Soma juice) is pressed, for Mitra and Varuna to drink (from), the delicious (juice) for *ṛta* to drink (from). I.137.2^a is identical with IX.17.8^c where also *ṛtá* similarly receives divine honours. It is impossible to translate *ṛtá* in these two passages as 'sacrifice or rite' or as 'Right'. Similarly I.75.5^b 57 can only be translated, in my opinion, as 'Adore the gods and the lofty *ṛtá*' and not as 'sacrifice to the gods (a sacrifice conforming to) the great *ṛtá* as OLDENBERG⁵⁸ has done or as 'Adore the lofty law (Gesetz) of the gods' as GEIDNER⁵⁹ has done, such renderings being due to the non-recognition of the divine status-the godly rank-of *ṛtá* which entitled it to the offering of Soma and sacrificial worship generally. In V.66.5^a and 68.1^c again, the *bṛhád ṛtám* ranks (in my view) as a deity alongside of Mitra and Varuna (see also VII.39.1^d)

§19. Quite a number of gods are said to be born of or produced from *ṛtá*. For example, Agni (I.36.19; 65.10, 144.7, 189.6; II.20.3; III.6.10; VI.13.3), Soma (IX.108.8), the Maruts (III.54.13; V.61.14), Brhaspati (II.23.15) and the Ādityas (VII.66.13) are said to be *ṛtá-jāta* or *ṛtá-prajāta*. In such cases, unless the risk of error was avoided (as is done often by Oldenberg)⁶⁰ by leaving the word untranslated, strange renderings such as 'well-born'⁶¹, 'punctually born',⁶² result! Finally, when the Dawns are called *ṛtá-jāta-satyāḥ*, '(true or) abiding because born of *ṛta*' in IV.51.7^b, non-recognition of the almost god-like character of *ṛtá* has led to renderings like 'punctually true'⁶³ which leave no trace of *ṛtá* for all practical 'purposes! My contention is that *ṛtá* the birth-place of the gods (as is implied in these epithets) has as strong a title as Aditi to be reckoned as a deity in the *RgVeda*!

57 *yájā devāṁ ṛtám bṛhát* | I 75 5^b

58 SBE, XLVI, 95.

59 *Der RigVeda, übersetzt und erläutert*, 89.

60 SBE XLVI

61 SBE XXXII, 357

62 *Übersetzung* (see Footnote 59 above).

63 Maedonell *A Vedic Reader*, 97.

§20. If *ṛtā* is (thus) a deity, an investigation into its natural basis becomes as imperative as in the case of any other deity unless it is relegated to the class of deities whose nature is founded on abstraction which (as we saw above) is not necessary. Such an investigation must first be undertaken here as the results thereof will throw light on the basis of the *pāśa*-conception which is the main theme of this paper.

Ṛtā is derived from the root *ṛ*, to go, with the suffix *ta*, which is employed almost exclusively to form past participles, chiefly with passive but sometimes with intransitive meaning. The more general and original sense of this suffix is preserved in some words used as adjectives or as substantives with concrete meaning such as our *ṛtā*, which should, therefore primarily mean '(something) gone over (correctly)' or better '(the settled or ordered) course of going', (followed by the luminaries?). It is my contention that this *primary physical* sense is well-preserved in the RV, in the many passages which speak of the path of *ṛtā*—an undoubted indication of its *spatial* character unless one supposes that it is a figurative application. Such a supposition, though not impossible, is neither necessary nor natural in a large number of passages, which we propose to examine now.

§21. In I.124.3^{cd} 64 (=V.80.4^{cd}), the Dawn clothing herself in lustre, follows correctly the path of *ṛtā* and does not miss the directions as one who knows (the way). 'For the broad (Sun-light), a still broader passage was made manifest—the path of *ṛtā* was directed with the cords (rays) of *ṛtā* [I.136.2^{ab} 65: here *ṛtāsyō*, though occurring only once can be construed with *pānthāḥ* as well as with *raśmībhiḥ*]. X.80.6^c 66 specifies this path as the *gāndharvī pathyā* or the path of the Gandharvas which shows that it is *high up* in the heavens which alone is the scene of the movements and activity of the Gandharvas. In VIII.22.7^{ab}, 67 the *Asvins* (matutinal deities) are implored to approach along the paths of *ṛtā*. I.46.11^{ab} 68 is important: 'The path of *ṛtā* is (now ready) for crossing

64 *ṛtāsyā pānthām ānu eti sādṛhā prajānatī a na dīśo minātī* || I 124.3^{cd}. (=V.80.4^{cd}).

65 *ādarśi gātūr urāte vāriyastī pānthā ṛtāsyā sām ayamsta raśmībhiḥ* || I 136.2^{ab}.

66 *agnīr gāndharvīm pathyām ṛtāsyāgnēr gātvyātīr gṛhṭā ā nīśattā* || X 80.6^c

67 *ūpa na iājīnū asū yātām ṛtāsyā pathībhiḥ* || VIII 22 7^{ab}

68 *ābhād u pāram étate pānthā ṛtāsyā sādhuṣā* |

ājāstī vī śratīr dīśāb || I 46.11.

safely to the (other) bank, the path (lit Channel) of heaven has become visible' (the context in v 10 being a description of sunrise) Saramā recovers the cows by going along *ṛta* (V 45 7)⁶⁹ or by going along the path of *ṛta* (V 45 8)⁷⁰ The cows are the beams of the Dawn (compare also X 67 5, 68 9 and the whole hymn X 108)

In VIII 12 3⁷¹ this path is specified as the one whereon Indra urged on Sindhu and the great waters as if they were cars Now when it is remembered that Indra places the Sun in the sky for all men to see and simultaneously releases the waters, after killing Vṛtra (I 51 4, 52 8), we understand the nature of this path It is the same that is described in VIII 31 13⁷² as 'easy to traverse' (*sugāh*) having Varuna Mitra and Aryamen as guardians and also in II 27 6⁷³ as thornless and *sugāh* and as belonging to the same three deities It is again, the same path or paths (though not expressly stated as *ṛtasya*) which the same Three—the Ādityas are said to dig out (*radanti*) for Sūrya in VII 60 4⁷⁴ and which Varuna is said to have dug out (*radanti*) for Sūrya and the Oceanic floods of rivers (VII 87 1^b),⁷⁵ Finally attention may be drawn to a beautiful and clear description of these paths in I 35 11⁷⁶ Protect us by (coming along) those time-honoured paths, O Savitr, dustless and well-laid in the firmament and easy to traverse (*sugebhīh*)

§It is but natural that the visible overhead part of the path of *ṛta* traversed by the luminaries during their bright career by day should be poetically termed 'the straightest path or paths of *ṛta*' as in I 79 3^b⁷⁷ The straight

⁶⁹ *ṛtam yati saramā gā avindad* || V 45 7^c

⁷⁰ *ṛtasya pathā sarāmī vidad gāh* || V 45 8^d

⁷¹ *yena sindhum mahir apó rathām̐ iva pracod'yah |
panthām̐ ṛtasya yātave tām imāhe* || VIII 12 3

⁷² *pathā na mītró aryamā varunaḥ santi gopāh |
sugā ṛtasya panthāh* || VIII 31 13

⁷³ *sugo hi vo aryaman mītra panthā anṛkṣaró caruna sādḥur asti* | II 27 6^d

⁷⁴ *yasmā ādityā ādhiāno radanti mītró aryamā carunaḥ sajoṣāh* || VII 60 4^{cd}

⁷⁵ *radat patiró carunaḥ sūryūya prāṇām̐ smudr'yū nadimām* | VII 87 1^b

⁷⁶ *yé te panthāh sauitāh pūrvyāso renavaḥ sukṛtā antarikṣe |
tēbhīr no adya pathibhīh sugebhī rākṣā ca no adhi ca brūhi deva* || I 35 11

⁷⁷ *yad im ṛtasya payasā piyāna nayann ṛtasya pathibhī rajasiḥhath* | I 79 3^b.

sailing ship of *ṛtā* mounted by Soma Pavamāna (IX.89.2^b)⁷⁸ is probably just another version of this very 'straight path of *ṛtā*'. The *naū* or ship boarded by Vasiṣṭha in the company of Varuna (VII.88.3^{ab} 79 and 4^{ab})⁸⁰ is very likely this ship of *ṛtā* and may be the same *naū* that Varuna abiding in the ocean, knows about (I.25.7^c)⁸¹.

I do not think that it is possible to brush aside all this evidence of the physical character of the path of *ṛtā* and to say that these details are just subtle metaphorical variations, superimposed on the various aspects of that *very prosaic abstraction*—the Course of Cosmic Order!

§22. Another indication of its *spatial* character, nay, its *exact location* is seen in passages which describe the seat or abode (*sādana*, *sādas*, *dhāman*, or *durand*) of *ṛtā*. The Dawns wake up from the seat of *ṛtā* (IV.51.8)⁸². Varuna holds heaven in the seat of *ṛtā* (IV.42.4^b)⁸³. Indra is invoked to come to the rescue (of the suppliant) from the farthest distance, (i.e.) from the seat of *ṛtā* in IV.21.3⁸⁴. The Rudras (i.e. the Maruts or Storm-gods) are said to have prospered or grown great in the abodes of *ṛtā* (in II.34.13^{ab}).⁸⁵ Similarly Varuna, Mitra and Aryaman, the sons of Aditi are said to have grown great in the seat (*durone*) of *ṛtā* (VII.60.5^{cd}).⁸⁶ An almost convincing passage is I.123.9⁸⁷ where we are told Uṣas, emerging from out of the Darkness and approaching the appointed place day after day, never misses the habitation (*dhāman*) of *ṛtā*. If this verse is read in the light of (the already quoted) I.124.3^{cd} (=V.80.4^{cd})⁸⁸ where Uṣas

78 *rājā śindhūnām avasiṣṭa vāsa ṛtāya nāvam āruhad rājṛtām.* | IX.89.2^{ab}.

79 *ā yād ruhāva cārunā ca nāvam prā yāt samudrām irāyūa mādhyam* | VII.88.3^{ab}.

80 *vasiṣṭham ha vāruno nāv ādhād īyam cakūra stāpā māvohibh* | VII.88.4^{ab}.

81 *vēda nāvāḥ samudrīyaḥ* || I.25.7^c

82 *ṛtāya devīḥ sādaso budhānā gātām nā sārgā vāsa jarante* || IV.51.8^{cd}

83 *aham apō apinam ukṣamāṇā dhārayam dīvam sādana ṛtāya* || IV.42.4^{ab}.

84 *ā yātū indro . . āvase no marūtān parāvāta vā sādaneḍ ṛtāya* || IV.21.3.

85 *te kṣoniḍhir aruṇebhir nāṇjibhī rudrā ṛtāya sādaneṣu cāvrdhah* || II.34.13^{ab}.

86 *imā ṛtāya cāvrdhur duronē śagmāsah putrā āditer ādabdhāḥ* || VII.60.5^{cd}.

87 *jānaty āhnaḥ prathamāsyā nāma śukrā kṛmāḥ ajaneta śisīci* |
ṛtāya yōtā nā mināti dhāmāhar-ahar niṣṛtām ācāranī || I.123.9.

88 *ṛtāpa pānthām āne ete sūhū prajūnāve nā dīvo mināti* || I.124.3^{cd}.

(= V.80.4^{cd}).

is described as following the path of *ṛta* carefully and (thus) not missing the directions, it should follow that the location (*dhāman*) of *ṛta* is coextensive with the directions.⁸⁹ In IV 5 9⁸⁹ the Sun the glorious face of (heavenly) splendours [(*mahām*) gen pl of *mah* = 'splendour (heavenly)'] is said to be shining in the region (*padā*) of *ṛta*

§23 The following passages speak of the *yonī* (the womb) of *ṛta* 'The (Angiras-) host came forth first in the womb of *ṛta*' (IV 1 12⁹⁰) If it is now remembered that the Angiras-host, is shown by the context to have rent the mountain and delivered the cows or dawns (compare vv 13 seqq and IV 2 15 seq) the location of the womb of *ṛta* becomes clear This location is identical with that of the womb of *rajas* and that of the bottom of *mah* [which as I have tried to establish in B D C R I II, is a substantive meaning heavenly light], because though *rajas mah* and *ṛta* are all different they are all bottomed on the same point in space (lying on the belt of the Zodiac — *ṛtasya yonau*) which marks the era of freedom and illumination for the luminaries and which is their birth-place, as it were The Sun observes heaven and earth rejoicing in the womb of *ṛta* (III 54 6⁹¹)⁹¹ The same fact is expressed in another way in X 65 8⁹²,⁹² Heaven and Earth share a common above in the womb of *ṛta* X 83⁹³⁹³ tells us that the Red Ones (the Dawns) enjoy themselves in the womb of *ṛta*

§24 Direct statements regarding the well defined configuration of *ṛta* in the geometry of the universe will be found broadcast in the RgVeda The peak or horn (*sṛnga*) of *ṛta* is mentioned in VIII 86 5⁹⁴⁹⁴ 'Through (i.e. on the strength of) *ṛta*, does Savitr work, he extends far and wide the (horn or) peak of *ṛta*' This evidently means that Savitr's ever widening

⁸⁹ *idam u tyan mahi mahām anikam* |

ṛtasya pade adhi didyānam || IV 5 9

⁹⁰ *pra sārḍha ṛta prathamam upanyām ṛtasya yonā vṛtablasya nīle* | IV 1 12⁹⁰

⁹¹ *kāvīr nīcakṣā abhi s m acasta ṛtasya yonā vighṛte mādanī* | III 54 6⁹¹

⁹² *ṛtasya yonā kṣayatah samakṣā* |

dyātapṛthivī vārunāya savrate || X 65 8⁹²

⁹³ *asja patmann āruṣir āsi abhūdhnā ṛtasya yonau tanīḍ jusanta* || X 83 3⁹³

⁹⁴ *ṛtena detah saṁitā samāyata ṛtasya sṛngam urīyā vī paprathe* | VIII 86.5⁹⁴

circle of light, simultaneously makes the extent of *ṛtá* more and more manifest. The bottom (*budhná*) of *ṛtá* is the place wherefrom the Sun urges forth the Dawns (III.61.7)⁹⁵ and finally himself advances into heaven and earth. II.28.5⁹⁶ speaks of the fount or well (or cavity, *kṣām*) of *ṛtá*. The *Sānu* (surface, top or ridge) of *ṛtá* is spoken of in X.123.2,⁹⁷ and 3⁹⁸ in a context (: ' Vena shone high up on the top of *ṛtá* ') which leaves no doubt as to its physical character.

§25. If the Zodiac is thus the natural basis of the conception of *ṛtá*, its character as a girdle, a belt or a zone should (we expect) be shadowed forth in the RV. A clear indication of its belt-like encircling expanse is seen in the representation of it as a wheel : ' The wheel of *ṛtá* (*ṛtasya cakrám*) with its twelve spokes—it never ages—turns round and round heaven ; here (i.e. within the wheel). O Agni, the seven-hundred and twenty (720) sons abide in pairs' (I.164.11).⁹⁹ The 12 spokes are naturally the 12 months. The 720 ' sons ' standing in pairs are the 360 days and 360 nights paired together. An explanation of the term ' sons ' applied to them is found in V.85.5.¹⁰⁰ where the Maruts are described thus, ' Like the spokes of a wheel, no one is last ; like the days they are born again and again) *prá-pra jāyante*). The reference in I.25.8¹⁰¹ to the 12 months ' endowed with (the) progeny (of days and nights) ' (*prajāvataḥ mōśāḥ*) also throws light. What more natural than that the wheel of the year resulting from the Sun's movements along the Zodiacal belt, completing a whole round or circle in the course of a year of 720 days and nights and 12 months should be described as the wheel of *ṛtá*? This same wheel is described in v. 2¹⁰² of this very hymn as

⁹⁵ *ṛtasya budhná utáśam iṣṭyān iṣṭā mahi rodasi ā i i i e i a* | III.61.7^b.

⁹⁶ *rdhyāma te varuna kṣām ṛtasya* | II.28.5^b.

⁹⁷ *ṛtasya sánau ádhi iṣṭāpi dhāt* || X.123.2^a.

⁹⁸ *ṛtasya sánau ádhi cakramāṇāḥ* || X.123.3^a.

⁹⁹ *dāśāśvaram nahī tāj jāyāya iāni arsi cakrām páre dāśam ṛtasya* |
ā *pulā agne mithunāya āśva sapta śatāni imāśi ca tathāḥ* || I.164.11.

¹⁰⁰ *arā iśéd ācaramā āheśa prá-pra jāyante ákṣat wátobhāḥ* | V.85.5^b.

¹⁰¹ *vēda māsi dhātārata dāśāya prajāvataḥ* | I.25.8^b.

¹⁰² (*saptā suṣṭānti*) *vātham ekacakrem (ēko āśva iāni saptaśatāni)* |
traiśāḥ cakrām ujāram anāśām yātermā vīṇā bhūva anāśi tathāḥ || I.164.2.

constituting a one-wheel chariot with the three naves (i.e. the three seasons) unaging and containing within it all beings (*vīśvā bhūvanāni*). Verse 48th¹⁰³ (of the same hymn) also mentions this same wheel with 12 fellies (12 months) and three naves (seasons) and the 360 spokes (lit pins) that never get loose [here, by 'spokes' the 360 (twenty-four-hour) days are meant] Verses 13th and 14th¹⁰⁴ also deal with the same theme. Probably this same wheel (of *rtá*) is referred to in VII 63.2^{cd}¹⁰⁵, where we are told that the sun rises, rolling round the self-same wheel' and in VI.54.3¹⁰⁶ describing the wheel of Pūsan. The 'One felly (*pavīh*) of Mitra and Varuna rolling on hither' (V 62.2^d)¹⁰⁷ is another version of the wheel of *rtá*, the latter being specially associated with the two gods.

§26 I further suspect that the zonal character of *rtá* (as the Zodiac) with its two halves—the one above and the other below the earth—apparently meeting each other at two points on opposite sides in the East and the West, have been referred to in the language of poetry, as 'supporting or serving or closing up with each other' in the following passages.—V.62.1^{ab}¹⁰⁸. By *rtá* is your *rtá* closed, O Mitra and Varuna, *there*, where the steeds of the Sun are unyoked (*vimucānti*)'. It does not matter (for our purpose) whether they are taken as unyoked for travel or for rest (there is a difference of opinion among scholars on the point) In my opinion, the upper half of *rtá* which meets the lower half at two points—the one in the East, where the luminaries start their bright career of freedom being called Aditi and the exactly opposite point in the West where the luminaries are apparently caught in the bondage of darkness being called diti—is here referred to by *rtēna*, the lower half by *rtām*.

¹⁰³ *dvādaśa pradhāyāś cakrām ékam trīṇ nābhyaṇi kṣā u tās ciketa |*
tāsmiṇ sākām trīśatā ná śankāvo 'rpitūh pastīr ná catācatāśah || I 164 48

¹⁰⁴ *pāncāre cakre parivartamāne tāsmiṇ ā tashur bhūvanāni vīśvā | I.164.13^{ab}.*
śānemi cakrām ajāram vī vāvṛte, tāsmiṇ ārpitā bhūvanāni vīśvā || I.164 14^a & d.

¹⁰⁵ *samānām cakrām paryāvṛtisan yād etasā vāhati dhūrjū yuktaḥ || VII 63 2^{cd}*

¹⁰⁶ *pūṣnāś cakrām ná rīṣyati ná kṣāśo 'va padyate |*
nó asya vyathate pavīh || VI.54 3

¹⁰⁷ *vīśvāh pinvathah svāsarasya dhēnā ānu tām ékaḥ pavīr ā tavarta || V.62 2^{cd}*

¹⁰⁸ *rtēna rtām ābhitam dhruvām vām sūryasya gātra vimucānti āśvān | V 62 1^{ab}.*

A reference to the figure opposite the last page will make the whole thing clear. I advance this construction of this verse and the following ones merely as a theory for the consideration of scholars, the acceptance or rejection of it having nothing to do with my main proposition in this paper. Let us consider in this light the following passages. V 68 4^b 1²⁹ 'Serving the *ṛta* (the upper half?) with the *ṛtá* (lower half? 1³⁰), Mitra and Varuna attain their powerful might (*daḥ'am āsāte*) V 15 2^a 1¹⁰ 'By *ṛtá* (the lower half) they have supported the 'supporting' *ṛtā* (the upper half, which may be said to support the world by means of the illumination of the Sun who shines only when he goes along it) in the highest heaven'. The same might be the implication of phrases like *ṛtēna ṛtāv'dhā* (I 28¹¹, 23 5¹¹) 'Strengthening *ṛto* by means of *ṛtá* used of Mitra and Varuna and *ṛtēna ṛtū'an* 'possessed of *ṛtá* by means of *ṛtá*, used of Varuna in IV 42 4¹¹³

§27 Finally I draw attention to an extremely interesting and important verse V 62 8¹¹⁴ 'When at the breaking forth of the Dawn, you Two O Mitra and Varuna, mount your car-seat (*gárta*), which is gold-hued and ore-pillared (*óyah-sthūnam*), at the rising of the Sun, you behold from there (*átah*, i.e. from the *gárta*) *áditi* and *diti* 'Í. It must be remembered that the car referred to is often described as a one-wheel one (cf I 164 2¹¹⁵) and that in any case, the car-seat would be at the very top of the car-wheel, in the highest heaven (i.e. at the zenith). From here alone, would it be possible to observe *oditi* and *diti*, the two points (exactly opposite to each other) of freedom (from darkness) and bondage (through

darkness) in the east and the west respectively for the Sun and the other luminaries. A reference might be made to the figure opposite the last page for a clear idea of the position referred to. For an explanation of *garta* and its location and significance we might compare V 68 5^c 116 'they i.e. Mitra and Varuna attain to the high-placed *garta*' which in its turn is explained by *rtam brhat* of V 68 1^c 117 and is the same thing as the scene of their mighty *kṣatram* among the gods' in V 68 3^c 118 and the '*īṣiram dakṣam*' of V 68 4b^b 119. Light on this peculiar position in the *garta* is further thrown by V 62 5^{cd} 120 where we are told Mitra and Varuna developing their (full) power (*dhṛta dakṣā*) take their position inside the *garta* in the midst of (nourishing or consecrated) foods (*lasu antah*). The following verse (V 62 6¹²¹) refers to the Two as upholding their dominion (*kṣatram*) which is reared on a thousand pillars (*sahasra-sthūnam*) protecting the worshipper in the midst of consecrated foods (*īlasu antah*). Verse 7th¹² next adding the detail that the supporting pillar is gold-hued and made of ore makes it certain that in all these verses (V 62 5 8 and V 68 1 3 5) the same pose assumed by Mitra and Varuna is under description—the pose of domination (*kṣatram*) involving the exercise of their will power (*dakṣam*) inside the *garta* i.e. on top of the wheel of *ṛta*, i.e. so high up on the *ṛta* as to be almost at the Zenith where from they could simultaneously observe *aditi* and *diti* as described in V 62 8. I have mentioned here this theory (though it is not an integral part of my main proposition) because it solves (in my opinion) the riddle of the natural basis of *Aditi* and *Diti*. We now understand why *Aditi* is the mother of a group of gods (the *Ādityas*) whose name represents a metonymic formation from hers. The Shining ones in the course of their movement along the *ṛta* (or the zodiac) reach a point (called

116 *bṛhanṭam gartam asāte* || V 68 5^c

117 *mahīkṣatram rtam brhat* || V 68 1

118 *mahī vām kṣatram dev su* || V 68 3

119 See Footnote No. 109

120 *namasanti dhṛtadakṣādhi garte m trāsāthe varuṇe[asu antah]* || V 62 5^{cd}

121 *akṛavihastā sukrīte paraspā gam trāsāthe varuṇe[asu antah] |
rājānā kṣatram āhr̥ṇ yamāna sahasrastūnam b̄ bhr̥h̥h̥h̥ saha dī au* | V 62 6

122 *hiranyanirṇ g ayo asya sthūṇā i bhṛjate diuṣ ṛiṣjanita |
bhadre kṣetre n m ta tūlle vā sanen a madhva adhigartiyasya* || V 62 7

it as 'onslaught' GELDNER¹²⁹ on IV.4.1 has however, almost delivered judgment, (in my opinion), regarding its meaning when he renders it as 'wurfsehnge' (a noose) and adds in his notes 'prāsiti is not one word but two; one meaning 'snaring net' (Fanggarn) is to be connected with the root *sō, si*, to bind (employed in IV.4.1) and another meaning 'advance', 'onset' to be connected with *prāsita* in IV.27.4 and X.77.5." A very clear idea of its meaning is given by X.87.11^{ab130}: 'That *yōtudhōno* (demon or goblin) who strikes at *rtó* with non-*rtó* (*ónrtó*)—may he fall triply into your *prāsiti* (ensnaring net)'. The word '*trīh*' (triply) here is a reminder of the triple working of Varuna's *pāso*. He who tries to supersede *rtó* with *ónrtó* falls into an ensnaring net (which as we shall see below is made up of the tangled web of *rtó* and *ónrtá*, escape from which is possible only by keeping strictly to the path of *rtó*)

The thread (*tántu*) of *rtá* is described in IX.73.9^{ab131}, as 'extending into the filter (*pouitra*), (i.e.) on to the tip of Varuna's tongue' Though the scene or context here is that of the earthly sacrifice, there is at the same time a suggestion of the thread or cord of (the cosmic figure of) *rtá* extending right into the tongue of Varuna whose special connection with *rtá* is so well-established. It is with this tongue that the four-faced Varuna bestirs himself (V.48.5^a)¹³², which is easily understandable in the light of the preceding verse. Bestirring himself with the tongue is virtually setting into motion the thread or cord of *rtá*—which appears to be the instrument *par excellence* of Varuna's activity in his capacity as a *yōtoyó-jano* (V. 72.2; I 136.3).

There is next the mention of the 'reins' or 'guiding cords' (*raśmī*) of *rtó*. I.123.13¹³³ speaks of the Dawn following the (guiding) cords of *rtó* and thereby shining forth 'Agni has taken up the rein (or cord) of *rtó* with the strength of his splendour (V.7.3^{cd}).¹³⁴ Though the context

¹²⁹ *Der RigVeda, übersetzt und erläutert*, 380

¹³⁰ *trīr yātudhānāḥ prāsitaṁ ta etv rāśm yō agne āṇṣtena hānti* | X.87.11^{ab}

¹³¹ *rtāśya tāntur vītataḥ pavitra ā jñhāyā āgre vārunasya māyāyā* || IX.73.9^{ab}

¹³² See Footnote No. 45

¹³³ *rtāśya rāśmīm anuyācamānā* |
ūṣo no adyā suhāvā vy ūcch || I.123.13.

¹³⁴ *utā dyumnāśya śāvasa rtāśya rāśmīm ā dade* || V.7.3^{cd},

here points to the terrestrial form of Agni, there is here a side-glance at Agni's celestial form and a play on the double meaning of *ṛtá* (earthly = rite and celestial = the zodiac) may have been intended, it being doubtful in many passages, which of Agni's aspects — terrestrial or celestial—is intended! We have already¹³⁵ discussed I.136.2 where there is the description of the path of *ṛtá* being directed or controlled by the reins or cords of *ṛtá*. Again in VIII.25.18^{ab136}, 'Who (Varuna) has measured off around (i.e. passed the measure round) the ends of heaven and earth with the cord (*raśmí*)', though there is no express mention of *ṛtá*, the implication is unmistakable that Varuna passes the measuring cord of *ṛtá* around heaven and earth, thus circumscribing them with a restraining *pāśa*, as it were, (for their good and not by way of punishment).

II.24.8^{ab137} speaks of the swift bow of Brahmanaspati—a bow of which *ṛtá* is the string (*gyó*).

The conception of the wheel of *ṛtá* containing within itself all Beings (dealt with in a preceding¹³⁸ section) is, in a sense, the *pāśa*-conception in another form. The encircling wheel with its network of spokes is but another version of the enclosing *pāśa* with its network of cords, both tending to circumscribe activity.

In VII.65.3¹³⁹ Mitra and Varuna are called the Bonds (personified) of *ánṛta*, equipped with many nooses (*bhūripāśō*), difficult to pass through for the hostile mortal. Only by following their own path of *ṛtá* (we are told) is it possible to cross through hard hips. Here 'Bonds' must mean binders; compare IX.73.4^{d 140}, at every step are bonds (*śclavaḥ*) that are equipped with nooses (*pāśinah*). X.67.4¹⁴¹: 'Brhaspati seeking light in the midst of darkness drove up the cows (beams of the Dawn), lying concealed in the bond of *ónṛto*, above one (closed hole) and below two (closed holes) in the cave, (because) he opened up all the three holes'.

¹³⁵ See Section 21.

¹³⁶ *páti ya raśmína devó 'ntān mamé pṛthivyāḥ* | VIII.25.18^b.

¹³⁷ *ṛtágyéna kṣipréṇa bráhmaṇas páter yátia váṣṭi prá tad ántaḥ* | II.24.8^b.

¹³⁸ See Section 25.

¹³⁹ *tā bhūripāśāv ánṛtasya sétu duratyéṣu vipāce* *ṛtāsya mītrāvaruṇā pathā uā apó ná nātā* | VII.65.3.

¹⁴⁰ *padé-pade pāśinah santi śclavaḥ* || IX.73.4^d.

¹⁴¹ *ai ó devābhyām parā cāka, ā gā gītā* *brhaspatis tāmasi jyóter utāra* *śclavaḥ* *śclavaḥ* *śclavaḥ* | X.67.4.

§29. The tangled web of the physical dispositions of *ṛtá* and *ánṛta* described in these verses can be pictured as follows : *ṛtá* (the belt of the Zodiac), was, no doubt, a kind of bond extending through space circumscribing the activities and movements of gods and men within itself but it was a bond in a good sense like the *dharma-pāśa* of Varuṇa in the Mahābhārata.¹⁴² Immediately outside this *ṛtá*, extended the bonds (or network of snares) of *ánṛta* which gripped those celestials who strayed from or were removed by a hostile being from *ṛta* into *ánṛta* (in a physical sense) like the cows or rays of the Dawn or those mortals who took to *ánṛta* in a moral and religious sense. The *prāsiti* (the ensnaring net) of *ṛtá* probably means this complicated and involved tangle or web of *ṛtá* and *ánṛta* and represents the ramifications of the nooses of Varuṇa, escape from which was, however, possible by strict adherence to the path of *ṛtá* (in all senses of the term, physical, moral and religious). In other words, *ṛtá* (or its custodians Mitra and Varuṇa) was itself *the bond that bound (the snares of) ánṛta* (cf. VII.65.3 above where the Two Gods are described as the binders of *ánṛta*) and kept it from entrapping the luminaries who followed the right path.

§30. To separate the confused strands of *ṛtá* and *ánṛta* in this tangled skein was no easy task for god or mortal. The RgVedic poets themselves freely express the difficulty¹⁴³ of keeping them apart, which only the great gods could overcome. In I.105.5^{abc}¹⁴⁴ the poet asks 'Ye gods who abide in the three illuminated (regions) of peaven, which is your *ṛtá* and which is your *ánṛta*?' In I.139.2^{abc}¹⁴⁵ Mitra and Varuṇa are referred to as separating *ṛtá* from *ánṛta* with the most energetic exercise of their power of will and thought. In X.124.5^{cd}¹⁴⁶ it is explicitly stated that for Varuṇa the assumption of the sovereignty of Indra's dominion was dependent on his capacity to distinguish *ṛtá* from *ánṛta*. [This verse incidentally throws light on how Varuṇa or Varuṇa and Mitra come

¹⁴² Mbh. 2.9.17 : 5.126.46.

¹⁴³ Compare for example the following verse where the poet wonders *where the ṛtá has disappeared* !

kvā ṛtām pūrvyām gatām kās tād bibharti nūtaṇa . . . || I.105.4^{cd}.

¹⁴⁴ *amiyé devāḥ sthāna triṣṭu ā rocané divāḥ* |
kād va ṛtām kād ánṛtam || I.105.5^{abc}.

¹⁴⁵ *yād dha tyān mitrāvaruṇāv ṛtād ādhy ādātāthe ánṛtām svēna manyūnā dāhṛasya svēna manyūnā* | I.139.2^{abc}.

¹⁴⁶ *ṛtēna rājann ánṛtam vivincān mōma rājṛasyādhīpatyam éhi* || X.124.5^{cd}.

to have their double dominion (cf. *dvitā rāṣṭrām* in IV.42.1¹⁴⁷ and VII.28.4)¹⁴⁸ over the spheres of light and darkness. To take over the charge of the sphere of light from Indra, it was necessary to separate *rtā* from non-*rtā*. Mitra and Varuna press down all *ánrtas* and line up with *rtā* (I.152.1^{cd})¹⁴⁹. Verse 3rd¹⁵⁰ of the same hymn tells us that when Usas marches ahead, *that* is the work of Mitra and Varuna and when the *gárbha* (Sun) bears the burden ('his own burden', because the mother Usas has disappeared), the *gárbha* has to suppress *ónrtā* and bring across or uphold *rtā*.

§31. Whereas thus, there is a large number of passages that preserve the *physical* sense of *rtā* (= the Zodiac), there are only a few that do so with regard to its opposite, the *ánrtā* or non-*rtā* which retains chiefly those meanings which are the anti-thesis of *rtā* in its moral and religious aspects and these few we examine now. In II.24.6¹⁵¹ and 7^{ab}, the Angírasas in their search for cows (the rays of the Dawn) hidden by the Panís are said to have detected *ánrtas* first and then (and then alone) to have reached the path of light (*máh*). Similarly Varuna is said to detect *ánrtā* in VII.28.4¹⁵², Mitra Aryaman and Varuna are said to be the chastisers of *ónrtā* and (therefore) able to prosper in the seat of *rtā*, in VII.60.5,¹⁵³ Varuna is said to destroy or resist *ánrtā* in VII.84.4^{cd}¹⁵⁴. Finally V.12.4¹⁵⁵ tells us that Agni's fetters (*bāndhanāsah*) are kept ready for those who drink (*pānti*) the drink (*dhāsīm*) of *ánrtā* or who protect (*pānti*) the support (*dhāsīm*) of *ánrtā*. A pun seems to have been intended on *pānti* (which may be connected either with the root *pā*, to drink or with the root *pō* to protect as well as on *dhāsīm*).

147 *māma dvitā rāṣṭrātriyaṣya* | IV 42 1^a

148 See Footnote No 42

149 *āvātīratam ányānti víśva rśna mitrāvaruna sacche* || I 152 1^{cd}

150 *apūd eti prathamā padāśīnām kās tād tām mitrāvarunā ciketa* |

gárbho bhārām bharaty ā cid asya tām pāpāty ánrtām ní tārīti || I 152 3

151 *abhinákṣanto abhī yé tām ānāśur nūdhīm paṇīnām paramām guhā hītam* |

te vidvānsah praticákṣyāntīā pānāy yāta u āyan tād úd tīyur ātīśam || II 24 6

tāvānah praticákṣyāntīā pānāy āta ā tathah kavāyo mahās pathāh | II 24 7^{ab}.

152 *prātī yāc cāste ányām anenāh* || VII 28 4^{cd}

153 *smé cetāro ányāṣya bhūrer mitrō aryamā varuno hī sūnti* || VII 60 5^{ab}

154 *prā yā ādityō ányā mirāty āmīā tūra dayate tāsūni* || VII 84 4^{cd}

155 *ké te agne ripāe bāndhanāsah ké pāyāvah samjanta dyumāntah* |

ké dhāsīm agne ányāṣya pānti kā āsata tāsah santi gopāh | V 12 4

§32 We may now recapitulate the various arguments step by step leading up to our main proposition thus —

I The passas are so distinctive of Varuna that they reveal on closer investigation a fundamental aspect of his character as the All Binder All Encompasser, All Enveloper or All Pervader

II *Rta* is so intimately connected with Varuna as to be almost his special charge

III The physical counterpart or natural basis of *rta* which enjoys divine status in the RgVeda is the belt of the Zodiac which no light of heaven (*deva*) may deviate from

IV The references to the wheel the thread (*tantu*) the cord (*rosni*) string (*jyā*) and finally the network (*prositi*) of *rta* point definitely to this *rta* as the *pāsa* (in a good sense) of Varuna—the *dharmapāsa* the noose of Right which is spoken of in the Mahabharata. The mention of the cows (rays of the Dawn) lying trapped in the bond of *onrta* (X 67 4) and of Varuna and Mitra as themselves the Binders of *onrta* (VI 1 65 3) and the many references to the difficulty of unravelling the strands of *rta* from those of *anrta*—[a difficulty overcome by the Great Gods only by lining themselves up with *rta* which itself was a kind of Bond (VII 65 3) that bound or passed round and thus kept within proper bounds the meshes of *anrta* which extended outside *rta*—all drew up a vivid picture of the tangled skein of *rta* and *onrta* reappearing in the moral plane as *satyōnrté* (Vn 49 3) and provide the most natural (physical) basis of that awe inspiring conception of *pāsa* originally associated with Varuna and later with Yama. An examination of the subsequent phases of the development of this conception in post RgVedic literature and the two epics must be reserved for a separate paper the limited purpose of this paper being a search for the earliest (i.e. RgVedic) antecedents of the *dharmapāsa* of Varuna in the Mahabharata

THE BHAGAVADGĪTĀ AND THE GĀTHĀS OF ZARATHUSHTRA

By

IRACH J. S. TARAPOREWALA

The truths in the Gāthās of Zarathushtra which form the very foundation of the Zoroastrian faith are the same as those contained in the Gītā. Indeed, the very names are identical, conveying the same meaning "the Song Divine". What I find is that these two great Aryan Scriptures teach the same fundamental truths and often in almost identical manner. Every passage in the Gāthās can be paralleled in the Gītā

In the very beginning of the Gāthā *Ahunavatti* (Yasna 29) we have a magnificent "Prologue in Heaven", comparable with that given in GOETHE'S *Faust* for dramatic effect. Here we have the oppressed and distracted "Soul of Mother-Earth" (Gəuš-Urvā) approaching the Supreme Being with her lamentation. The ancient Hindu story of Prthivī in the shape of a Cow, carrying her sorrowful tale upto Visnu at once occurs to us. The very name Gəuš-Urvā is suggestive. She approaches the Supreme Ahurā-Mazdā relying on the ancient promise so clearly expressed in the Gītā (iv. 7-8).

yadā yadā hi dharmasya glānir bhavati bhārata |
abhyutthānam adharmasya tadā imānam aśramy aham ||
paritrāṇāya sādhanām vṛṇīśāya ca dukṛtām |
dharmasamsthāpanārthāya sambhavāmi yuge yuge ||

In the Gāthā, however, Ahurā-Mazdā does not himself go down upon earth, but sends down his "noblest Creation" Zarathushtra.

Very striking is the list of distresses Mother-Earth has been suffering from :

"Passion, and rapine, outrage everywhere,

"And violence doth enmesh me all around." (Yas. 29.1)

The notable point is that "Passion" leads the list. This is the *kāma* of the Gītā, the *mahāśano mūhūpūpmā* who is the true enemy of mankind on earth. The word used in the Gāthā for this is *Aēšma*. It is derived

from $\sqrt{a\bar{e}ṣ}$ - (is- : icch), 'to desire' and hence is the exact equivalent of *kāma*. But there is a double meaning in this name. It signifies both " (selfish) desire " and " anger ". *kāma-krodha* often occur together in the *Gītā*. We have in the *Gītā* (ii 62) the genesis of *krodha* from *kāma*. The close relation between the two is also shown in *Gītā* (iii 37) where this two-fold *kāma-krodha* is considered as root of all evil done by man, " forced as it were into it " (*balād iva niyojitaḥ*). Śankara's comment on the words *kāma eṣa krodha eṣaḥ* is quite illuminating. He says

kāma eṣa sarva loka satruḥ yannumitta sarvānarthaprāptiḥ pranuṁ |
sa eṣa kāmaḥ pratihataḥ kenacit krodhatena parinamate
ataḥ krodho'pyeṣa eva ,

This clearly shows that the *Gītā* regards *kāma* and *krodha* as two aspects of the same emotion, the latter being " *kāma* frustrated ". Moreover in the Kāśmīra recension of the *Gītā* several verses are added after iii 37, in which the word '*atru* (in the singular) is used for both, thus proving their essential identity.' In the *Gāthā* the identity is closer, for the same name has been used for both.

From the above sample we see how the study of the *Gītā* throws unexpected light on *Gāthā* passages. Another example may be given. I had long been puzzled why in the *Gāthā* there was almost no emphasising of *bhakti*. I once heard such an eminent authority as Shams-ul-Ulema Dastur Dr. M. N. DHALLA lamenting the lack of the *bhakti*-cult in early Zoroastrianism. After some years of reading and thinking I have come to the conclusion that the three " Holy Immortals " (*Amṣ̌-ā-Spāntā*) -*Aša*, *Vohu-Mano*, and *Xšaθra*- stand respectively for the three Paths—of Knowledge, Love and Service—described in the *Gītā*. I was led to this by a hint in the Pahlavi commentary to the Ahuna-Vairya verse (Yas. 27 13), that in the three lines of that verse these three " Holy Immortals " are mentioned in their order. This certainly leads to a profounder understanding of this verse.

Now the first *Gāthā*, *Ahunavaiti*, is so named because it is an expansion of the fundamental teaching contained in the Ahuna-Vairya. Working on that supposition and carefully noting the characteristics and functions of each " Holy Immortal " as described in the *Gāthā*, we come inevitably

¹ See BELVALKAR'S edition of the *Bhagavad Gītā*, (Poona 1941) pp 63 ff

to the conclusion that these three represent the three aspects of the Supreme to be realised respectively along the Paths of Knowledge, Love, and Service.

It is remarkable that while in the Gāthās *Asa* occupies the "first place" amongst the "Holy Immortals", his next colleague *Vohu-Manō* has been mentioned most often. So here we get clear indications of the Path of Love emphasised in the Gāthās. Many scholars have believed (and I agree with them) that the best exposition of *bhakti* in Iran has been through Sufi-ism. And Sufi teachings can in their turn be traced back to Zoroastrian ideas, especially to the cult of *Vohu-Manō*. It is very significant that in later Zoroastrian doctrine *Vohu-Manō* occupies the "first place" amongst the "Holy Immortals."¹

A third example illustrating the light thrown by the *Gītā* on the inner signification of the Gāthā doctrine may be added. In *Yasna* 30 we get Zarathushtra's teaching of the Twin-Spirits. The pure philosophical teaching of the Prophet has undergone strange transformations in later days. In the Gāthā he definitely states that both are "created by *Mazdā*" (*Mazdāŋā*) and are eternally opposed in every way one to the other. When first the two came together, one created "Life" and the other "Not-Life", "so that Creation's purpose be fulfilled" (*Yas.* 30·4). This reminds us at once of the doctrine of *Purusa* and *Prakṛti* as taught in the *Gītā*² and elaborated in the *Sāṅkhya-darśana*. What we called "good" and "evil" is only "relative" and depends upon the amount of ignorance that is within ourselves. As the *Gītā* puts it

ajñānenāśrīram jñānam tena muligante fantavah (v. 15).

The whole theory of evil worked out in *Yas.* 40 and 31 clearly points out that when people are doubting as to what is the right course "the Deluder" comes and confounds them, taking advantage of their selfish desires. Ignorance of the Divine Spirit within us is the real cause of evil and pain, this is the teaching alike of the Gāthā and of the *Gītā*. Thus the *Gītā* amplifies and supplements what is often given in the Gāthās, as a terse sentence.

¹ This is typified by the names of the days of the Zoroastrian month—the first three are *Ahura mazda*, *Vohu-Mano* and *Asa-Vahushta*.

² Cf. *Gītā*, 13, 19 ff.

THE MAHĀBHĀRATA DATA FOR ARYAN EXPANSION IN INDIA I

By

T. S. SHEJWALKAR

Two decades ago when Dr. H. C. RAI CHAUDHARI began his studies in Ancient Indian Geography 'the most serious difficulty in the way of utilising the Epic and Puranic accounts was the corruption of the text.'¹ Fortunately for us we now have the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata* which will help in taking a fresh review of the same material. The work is not yet complete and so we cannot still have a complete study based on the whole of the Epic. To that extent our study will have to be partial and so we have chosen a limited field of enquiry. It pertains to the holy places of the Aryans in the "Mahābhārata Age", a period of time, as is known to scholars, which is difficult to decide. When a penetrating editor of the acumen of the late Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR found to his dismay that one line of a verse in the Epic may belong to a period centuries earlier than the second, the difficulty of judging time will be patent to every one. Though our enquiry pertains to the holy places we are not primarily interested in their religious or sociological aspects. We want to fix the geographical habitation of the places in which those holy places actually stood and after dotting the same on the map of India to come to some conclusion about the spread of Aryan colonisation in that age. For the spread of knowledge of Indian Geography amongst the Aryans at a particular time of their history is one thing, while their actual spreading over the area and colonising the same is another thing. The creation of holy places is a sure guide to Aryan colonisation, in our opinion. The places might be far and few between, but the criterion we think is quite certain and clear as a guide. The Aryan colonisation was not, and could not be from the nature of the case—a continuous conquering march of a horde like that of a Timur or a Chingizkhan. It was first and foremost a cultural conquest and only incidentally a geographical occupation. The original idea about the overwhelming nature of Aryan superiority

¹ *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, 1932, p. 40.

in all walks of life is, we think, now completely expelled from the historian's outlook. The strength and the good points of the aboriginal cultures have also become more manifest by further studies in that direction and the unearthing of their past civilisations. The main stock of the Hindu civilisation still seems to be aboriginal on which the Aryans grafted their culture, thus giving a rich new taste and colour to the natural plant.

The first item in an investigation of the holy places would be the point whether the idea of deifying the rivers, the mountains, the forests and trees was Aryan in its origin or whether it was adopted from the aboriginal races. In the former case the names bestowed on these would be naturally in the Aryan tongue, but if the latter be their origin, the names are likely to be also in the languages of the local races. In a sense this is a primary and a basic point, but it must be left to comparative philology in the main. The pit-fall underlying an attempt at the derivation of all names from Aryan roots should be obvious to any one. Our essay will keep aside this matter and only begin with the idea that the places had been already marked as their own by the Aryan priesthood.

The geographical investigation from the Purānic data is difficult in the extreme. It is doubtful whether the sense of direction and distance was exact amongst the ancients. Some investigators have already tried to work on the idea that the directions mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* can not² be treated as exact or even correct because Bhīma is supposed to have gone to the eastern quarter, it need not be assumed that all the places in his itinerary were necessarily to the east of Delhi. In the first place, directions are seldom given in *Mahābhārata* descriptions and where given they are mentioned in a very broad sense. But it would be idle to ignore the directions whenever they are stated and in their total absence all investigation in itself will be without any direction. Verbal identity of place names can never be a sure indication of their habitat. We think a good deal of confusion has already been created by following the purely verbal method without applying the geographical and the historical methods in its train. The names of the places of pilgrimage have been especially multiplied in India to suit the regional and local pride and convenience. This work of multiplication seems to have already begun in good earnest even during the "*Mahābhārata* age."

² *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, 1932, p. 117.

the identification of the ancient holy places According to the *Kuruksetra Mahatmya* the holy places in that locality had lain desolate for several centuries after the Muhammadan conquest when a Dandi named Rinchandra Swami came from Kasi to Kuruksetra He was grieved to see the desolation and determined to stop there and try to restore the holy places But as even the sites of many were unknown he professed to have obtained a knowledge of them in his dreams and accordingly he wrote a book describing them which is called the *Mahatmya* of 6 000 slokas and also the *Dandi Mahatmya* Long afterwards a Pandit of Thanesar named Banmali traced all the holy sites from the positions given by the Dandi whose account is now accepted as genuine by all brahmins although his only authority for the identifications was a dream

What CUNNINGHAM has related about Kuruksetra is possibly applicable to other big centres of pilgrimage like Benares Prayaga Haridwar Badari Kedar Gays Pushkara and other similar places except where the actual site is unchangeable like the peak of a clearly known mountain and the like In the plains of Hindustan the rivers and streams change their courses frequently and it is next to impossible to presume that the ancient sites have remained where they actually were Later on when solid stone ghats or pavements came to be built and the towns had risen high on the debris of centuries and were protected by embankments and similar devices the places probably came to be more or less defined and fixed once for all But this is a comparatively very late event in history We suspect that the various current names of shrines and sites have in many cases been given to them by later revivalists of pious dispositions after the manner of Ramchandra Dandi Being well versed in the ancient Epics and Puranas they took the lists of holy places as found in these books and tried to fix them as best as they could And what else would they do when geological changes human vandalism migrations of populations due to historical causes resulting in clean forgetting or wide lapses of memory had left no clue to proper verification?

What has been said above is not wild imagination or a mere guess It is known from history⁴ that when Mahmud of Ghazni crossed the river Saraswati it was an impetuous deep stream of stony bottom strewn with large pebbles Now it is completely silted with 30 feet of fine sand and

⁴ ELLIOT and DOWSON *Muhammadan H for ans* 2 40

so has almost ceased to be a running stream. When the whole locality of Kuruksetra was trodden down beyond recognition by invading hordes of Hunas, Śakas, Gurjaras, Afghans, Mongols and Turks, how can the ancient ponds and shrines remain standing where they were? And these things have happened to almost all the holy localities in India for the holy places were richly endowed and possessed vast wealth of precious metals. Where the locality was left undisturbed by the invading hordes as in the case of the Ganges Valley above Haridwar, the disturbed condition of the country stopped pilgrimages to these distant places for a sufficiently long time to effect lapses of memory. When the great Śankarachārya came, he had to rehabilitate things in the disturbed valley, so it is related⁵ in the current legends of the various places in the localities concerned.

Taking into consideration all these factors we have come to the conclusion that it is idle to try to identify the various holy spots mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* lists of holy places, except in so far as the geographical data is clearly defined and unchangeable.

In dealing with the subject it is necessary to bear in mind that the narration of the holy spots does not belong to the class of cosmographical episodes found interspersed in the various Puranas as well as the Epic. Therefore there can be no formal mode of expression or regular description of the various places mentioned in the *Tīrtha Yatra*. At the same time it would be impossible for an investigator to disregard any clues as to the directions, locations and descriptions of the places mentioned for what they are worth. Any casual clue for the identification of spots must be taken as more likely to be correct than any formal treatment of the subject matter. The possibility of interpolations and later additions will always be there and it is very difficult if not impossible to detect the later from the earlier.

In the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* of the *Mahābhārata* there is an upaparvan called *Tīrtha-Yātrā Parvan*. In the critical edition it contains the *Adhyāyas* 80 to 153 both inclusive. Of these the first nine *Adhyāyas* deal with the various holy places and spots in two different sets. First Pulastya's narration to Bhīṣma is renarrated through the medium of Narada to Yudhisthira in four long *Adhyāyas* containing 133, 178, 143, 144 verses.

⁵ *Tīrtha yatra prabandha* (Marathī) 1883 by G. S. LELE Śaṣṭhi of Tevambak, p. 37.

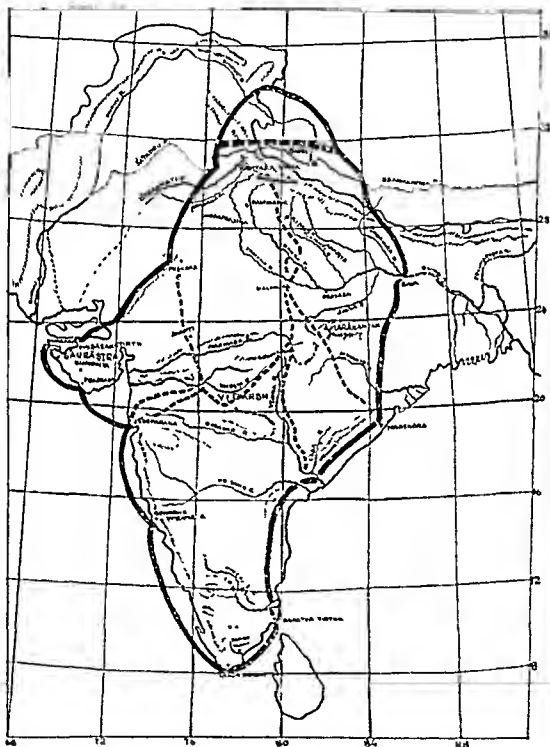
in them. The *Adhyāya* 84 is a sort of short connecting link. In the four next *Adhyāyas*, Dhaumya, the priest of the Pāṇḍavas, relates in four short *Adhyāyas* the various holy places of India in four groups each devoted to one of the four quarters in succession. The verses in these four chapters are 23, 24, 25 and 30 successively. The rest of the *Tīrtha-Yātrā Parva* is occupied in the actual itinerary of Yudhisthira with his brothers (except Arjuna) and wife to the various places in the company of the sage Lomaśa. Naturally it contains, in the *Mahābhārata* style, a number of *upākhyānos* which occupy the major portion of the rest of the *Adhyāyas* in the *Porva*.

The first thought that naturally occurs to the mind of any lay reader is about the necessity and propriety of having two different sets of *Adhyāyas* of unequal length for the narration of the various holy spots to the Pāṇḍava brothers. On the ground of style alone it can be seen that the two sets of narration belong to two different times in history. This fact has already been noted by scholars and inferences drawn from it. Thus Mr. M. V. VAIDYA has contributed an article to the *P. V. Kane Festschrift* Volume⁶ on the Pulastya *Tīrtho-yōtrō* and its affinities with the *Padma Purāṇa* narration of holy places. Therein he has pointed out "the difficulties in the way of pinning down this episode to the *Mahābhārata*. Pulastya-*Tīrtha-Yātrō* is not known to the composer of the *Anuṣṭuparva* in the *Ādi* and even in the *Parvosamgraha Parva*, it is mentioned in a passage which is clearly spurious." Though it is proved that this *Mahābhārata* episode is the basis of the *Padma Purāṇa* section of *Tīrtha Yātrā*, it clearly belongs to the latest strata of the Epic and is chronologically of the same age as the *Purāṇas* with their altogether different outlook and spirit. It belongs to the time when *Mahātmyas* of various holy spots come into vogue. On the other hand the Dhaumya set of narration seems to belong to a much earlier age. A comparison between the two narrations is sure to prove useful for arriving at certain broad results in the history of the Aryan colonisation in India and the spread of Aryan culture as a whole.

Though the two sets of narration of the holy spots belong to different times separated by centuries, still both appear to be thoroughly Brahmanical. This fact need not preclude the possibility of the second and bigger version of the Pulastya narration being post-Buddhistic in time.

⁶ A Volume of Studies in Indology pp 532-4

ARYAN EXPANSION



ACCORDING TO DHARMYA NARRATION

(4) The fourth and the most important proof is the geographical area covered by Dhaumya-set of narration. In the east, Dhaumya begins by crossing the Ganges with Naimisa¹³ forest. Thence he goes to the Gomati¹⁴ river, but afterwards instead of going further he crosses the Ganges and goes direct to Gayā¹⁵. Even from Gaya he does not proceed further. He returns and comes to the Ganges-Jumnā Doab¹⁶. But he does not stop there. He again takes a southerly direction and goes to Kālānjara¹⁷ hill and still further on to the mountain Mahendra¹⁸ almost bordering on the bay of Bengal. Thence he again returns to the Ganges basin¹⁹ and ends there his Eastern itinerary. This shows clearly that Dhaumya and the men of his time had no clear sense of directions in India, and secondly that the Aryans had still not crossed the river Sādanirā into what became Videha afterwards. For some time the further eastern limit of Aryan advance in the Gangetic basin was only Kosala as it is mentioned in the legend narrated in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa²⁰. Thus talking in terms of time Dhaumya belongs to that earlier time which preceded the colonisation of Videha Anga²¹ and the countries beyond.

(5) Though the Aryans had not gone further east, that does not mean that they were unacquainted with the south. In fact Dhaumya narrates southern holy spots in equal numbers. It is also significant that he begins the south with the river Godāvarī and the Payosnī. That shows that the Aryans had crossed to the Deccan along the same path as is reported to have been taken by Rāma Dāśarathī in the Ramāyana. Still nowhere in Dhaumya's narration is there any hint of Rāma as a hero much less as a god. While Viṣṇu is on his way to

¹³ Mahabharata 3 85 4

¹⁴ *Ibid* 3 85 5

¹⁵ *Ibid* 3 85 6

¹⁶ *Ibid* 3 85 12

¹⁷ *Ibid* 3 85 15

¹⁸ *Ibid* 3 85 16

¹⁹ *Ibid* 3 85 21

²⁰ B C SEN *Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal* 1942 p 7. From a very uncultivated and very marshy land Videha which had not been previously tilled by Agni Vāśvanara became soon converted into a quite habitable region.

²¹ *Ibid* p 7. Anga is first mentioned in Atharvaveda, Vairochana a king of Anga performed a horse sacrifice according to the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa which also mentions the Puroḍas.

become a supreme deity in his form of Narayana²² and Kṛṣṇa²³, Rāma Dāśarathī or Jāmadagnya should not be mentioned even as a hero is to our mind a very telling omission

(6) Of the Bhārgava clan which is taken by Dr SUKTHANKAR to be responsible for the final redaction of the *Mahabhārata* in the main, Bhṛgu, Cyavana, Markandeya and Jamadagni are mentioned in the Dhaumya narration with the significant omission of Parasurāma. Once where (3 85 11) the reading Jamadagnya is adopted in the critical edition, the foot-note gives the variant Jamadagni for the Śarada, Kāśmīrī, Bangālī and other important northern recensions showing that Jamadagni must be the older reading. This is also supported by the fact that Parasurama is not known to have been connected with the sacrifice performed by Viśvāmitra or to have recited a genealogy (*anuvamsam*) there²⁴

(7) Śūrpāraka which is generally taken to have been created by Parasurāma is referred to as an altar of Jamadagni²⁵ only in the critical edition, thus proving its earlier colonisation by the father and not by the son

(8) Mount Mahendra which is also generally taken as the creation of Parasurāma, is referred to as a place of Mahatma Bhārgava,²⁶ which can be connected with any member of the Bhṛgu clan and need not be necessarily put to the credit of Parasurama on the basis of this reference

(9) Kuruksetra, which is otherwise known as Samantapancaha²⁷ and is renowned for its five pools of blood created by Parasurāma after slaughtering the Kṣatriyas twenty-one times, is not so much as mentioned in the Dhaumya narration though in the Pulastya narration Ramarhadas are described with their anecdote in a number of verses²⁸

²² Mbh 3 88 27—Narayana is called an Ādi deva (First god) the great Yogi (Mahayogi) to whom all gods and gods make a daily oblation

²³ Mbh 3 88 21-4 Kṛṣṇa is called Saratana Dharma himself and also God of gods (Devadev)

²⁴ Mbh 3 85 11

²⁵ Mbh 3 86 9

²⁶ Mbh 3 85 16

²⁷ Mbh 3 117 9

²⁸ Mbh 3 81 22-33

On the other hand according to Dhaumya the great renowned Jamadagni had performed a sacrifice there at which all the great rivers attended with their waters and Visvvasu recited a well known verse ²⁹ thus proving that the father had an earlier connection with that famous locality

(10) Similarly Dhaumya disposes of Prayaga³⁰ and Puskara³¹ by mere mention in two and three verses each without dilating on them as *tirtharājas* proving the earlier times

(11) Varanasi³² is conspicuous by its absence in the Dhaumya narration. Connecting this fact with the non mention of god Śiva in the whole narration its times seem to be much earlier than the times of the Pulastya narration wherein a number of synonyms of god Śiva appear as connected with various places

(12) There are no holy places connected with Rama Dasarathi in the Dhaumya narration either Dandakaranya³³ is mentioned in the Pulastya narration but is not to be found in the Dhaumya set. This also proves that the age of the Dhaumya narration is prior to the cult of Rama as a recognised deity or hero

We think this to be an overwhelming evidence showing a difference of centuries between the two sets of narration of holy spots. If we compare the two lists of places after jotting them down on the map we can form a fairly reliable idea of the directions of Aryan expansion. The actual itinerary of Yudhisthira in the whole round of India as detailed in further chapters in the *Tirthoyatro* parvan differs materially sometimes from the Dhaumya narration and this makes its authentic nature or contemporaneity doubtful

It would not be out of place here to imagine a picture of India of those hoary days days before the times related in the legend of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. Most of the land was still covered with woods and there were great impenetrable forests at an interval of some hundred miles each. A *Jonopoda* or country was made up of forest clearings here and there

²⁹ Mbh 3 88 13-16

³⁰ Mbh 3 85 13 14

³¹ Mbh 3 87 13 15

³² Mbh 3 82 69

³³ Mbh 3 83 38

came to see king Yudhishthira in his dream and requested him to leave that part and migrate to some other tract in view of the impending extinction of their species due to incessant hunting by the Pandava brothers. Their argument touched Yudhishthira to the quick and taking pity of those unlucky beasts put in a quandary he resolved next day, in consultation with his brothers, to go to an adjoining forest in which game had become abundant⁴¹. This little gem of a story throws a flood of light on those times proving that the society was still in a half nomad hunting stage. The countryside was divided into cultivated areas, woods for hunting, pastures with ranches. As large areas were still covered with dense forests which generally separated one populated area from the other, the boundaries of the clan territories were ever shifting. The colonies were known after their clans⁴² but their geographical area was still not fixed. The pressure of more vigorous and aggressive tribes made others move from their areas and seek new ones. The various tribes and their kingdoms brought under tribute by the Pandava brothers in their conquests of the quarters⁴³ cannot necessarily be found now in the very same localities, as can be proved by comparative studies of those times with the later times. But it can form the subject for a separate essay and therefore we merely mention and leave it there.

To judge from the Dhaumya narration the area of holy spots approved by the Brahmins was spread from the Sutlej in the West to the river Gandakī in the East, and from the Himalayas in the north to the Agastya tirtha in the Pandya country in the furthest south of the Indian peninsula. But while the area of the Gangetic basin formed the centre of Aryan life in the rest of the area there were Aryan colonies here and there. Mount Mahendra⁴⁴ which is in the Ganjam district of Orissa only sixteen miles from the sea coast is noted as an important outpost of Aryan culture.

✓ ⁴¹ Mbh. 3.244.13. The Pandava brothers left the Dvāpāra and returned to the Kāmyaka forest.

⁴² The Ānartas are mentioned as a clan conquered by Arjuna in his northern conquest (Mbh. 2.23.14). In later terms north Gujarat was called Ānarta. The Colas are similarly placed in the north (Mbh. 3.24.20) though named several times they were rulers in the south. Similar instances can be multiplied.

⁴³ Mbh. 2.23.29.

⁴⁴ *The Imperial Gazetteer of India* 17.8 (1908). Mahendragiri—18° 58' N. 84° 24' E. or the same latitude as Bombay.

But then instead of directly proceeding to the south along the sea-board the Aryans seem to have swerved west from the mouths⁴⁵ of the Godavari and colonised the Vidarbha at the centre of the peninsula. This is clear from the mention of the river Vennā⁴⁶ which can be equated with Vena-Gangā, and Payosni⁴⁷ which is identical with the river Pūrṇā rising amongst the hills to the north of Amaraoti and flowing through the present Berar to join the river Tapti in the West. This area was most probably reached by the Aryans by coming direct to the south from the Allahabad region because mount Kālāñjara⁴⁸ in Bundelkhand had become noted in these early times and the sage Agastya⁴⁹ had his āsrama in the same locality. He must have crossed the Vindhya by way of Mandla and descended down the Wain-Ganga valley in the plains below. This is supported by a casual reference in the Nalopākhyāna⁴⁹ also. Nala is standing on the plateau of the Vindhya range and pointing out to Damayanti the various roads leading to the south. From the particular point at which he is standing he can also point out the road leading to Avanti after crossing the mountain Rkavanta in the west. He points out to the highest peak of the Vindhya range in front of him and to the source of the river Payosni below. This locality is full of the hermitages of great ṛṣis. He also points out the road leading to the Vidarbhas as well

⁴⁵ It must have been practically impossible to go along the coast in those days. South west of Mahendra the country is hilly for some 150 miles and in those days must have been covered with thick woods. The deltas of the Godavari and the Kr̥ṣṇa are even now almost marshes in times of floods and three thousand years ago were possibly like the Sunderbans at the mouths of the Ganges at present. Bhadracalam is accepted as the place where Rama crossed the Godavari on his way to Lanka in the whole of Telugu country. This place is more than a hundred miles higher up from the mouths of the Godavari before it enters the gorge of the Eastern Ghats and significantly enough above its junction with the river Sabari reminding one of the story of the Sabari woman who innocently offered tasted berries to Rama. The Sabara tribe is still to be found in this locality. Curiously enough also one finds a Badarika tirtha in Pulastya narration (3.83.13) just before Mahendra but after the (south) Kosales. Can it be connected with the Berry (=Badari) incident mentioned above?—See *Descriptive and Historical Account of the Godavari Dist.* (1878) pp. 3-4. 42 with the map at the end for conviction.

⁴⁶ Mbh. 3.86.3. The river Bhumarathi which goes with Venna in this verse cannot be equated with the river Bhima which is a tributary of the Kr̥ṣṇa because the locality is definitely Berar. This name might have been derived from some king Bhumaratha of the Vidarbhas. A Bhoja prince of this name is mentioned as attending king Yudhisṭhira's sacrifice (Mbh. 2.4.20).

⁴⁷ Mbh. 3.86.4.

⁴⁸ Mbh. 3.87.15.

⁴⁹ Mbh. 3.58.20.22.

as to the (south) Kosalas. Beyond it to the south is the Deccan. With this vivid description the road from the Cedi country to Vīdarbhā can be properly visualised and almost fixed with certainty. From the Berars the Aryans seem to have walked down along the Tapti valley and descended into the northern Konkan where they created a nucleus at Śūrpāraka⁵⁰ to the north of Bombay. To the south of the Deccan plateau there were colonies of the Aryans in the far south only, as appears from the Agastya tīrtha along the sea⁵¹ coast as well as the Virgins' spot⁵² (Cape Comorin or Kanyā Kumārī). Along the western sea-board, only two points are noted, the locality of Gokarna⁵³ with the small river Tāmraparnī⁵⁴ adjoining it as well as a hermitage of Trnasomāgni,⁵⁵ a pupil of Agastya, and Śūrpāraka with the altar of the sage Jamadagni.⁵⁶ Then along the coast, Prabhāsātīrtha⁵⁷ on the sea to the south of Kathiawar is also noted together with the Ujjayanta⁵⁸ mount (Girna) as well as Dvārakā⁵⁹ at the westernmost point of the peninsula. It is curious to note that Kathiawar is included in the southern quarter in the Dhaumya narration and not in the West. On the other hand Avantī, the river Narmada, "the river of Viśvāmītra", the Yayatīpatana spot, the mounts Maināka and Asita together with Saindhavāranya, and last but not least the lake Puskara, are all included in the west.⁶⁰ This shows that Malwa, Gujarat and Rajputana of the present day were treated as the west in those times.

⁵⁰ Mbh. 3.86.9 = Sopāra to the north of Bombay

⁵¹ Mbh. 3.86.10. It is to be equated with the modern Agastīampalli because it is given as a Varuṇa (sea) tīrtha situated in the Paṇḍya country. A temple of Agastya is still to be found there. It is the extreme south-east point.

⁵² Mbh. 3.86.11. 83.21

⁵³ Mbh. 3.86.12

⁵⁴ The Tāmraparnī here is the small stream at Gokarna and not the great river of that name in the Tinnevelly District to the north of Cape Comorin because the syntax of the passage (3.86.11.12) connects it with Gokarna only (See *Sacred Blārata Prataṣa Varnana* (1912) a Marathi book—p. 47).

⁵⁵ Mbh. 3.86.14

⁵⁶ Mbh. 3.86.9

⁵⁷ Mbh. 3.86.17

⁵⁸ Mbh. 3.86.18

⁵⁹ Mbh. 3.86.21

⁶⁰ Mbh. 3.87

This description shows that the Aryans of the Gangetic valley had already separated from the early Aryans of the Indus basin and come to look upon them as *outs de the pale*. The *Madhyadeva* of Manu was already in formation as an ultra orthodox Aryan centre. But still the catholicity of early Aryan mind had not quite dried up and outside centres of Aryan culture were still recognised as holy and approachable. Except for the fringe of sea coast low-lands surrounding the whole of the Deccan, the Aryans had not penetrated much inside. To the east, much of Bihar and Orissa as well as the whole of Bengal were still uncolonised, though not necessarily unknown. The central forests of the Vindhyan range were also not penetrated except for the chief paths and passes leading to the south. These are the times when visiting of certain lands like Anga, Vanga and Kalinga was an offence requiring initiation for the second time with expiatory rites.⁶¹ This bar does not seem to have come into operation after the Jain and Buddhist successions for there is no hint of a danger from that quarter.

The Pulastya set of narration which is much inflated when compared to the Dhaumya narration is still keeping within certain geographical bounds. To be sure, the boundaries of Aryandom had expanded reaching almost the river Brahmaputra in the east.⁶² The south becomes spotted with more holy places and places connected with Rama Dasarathi are inserted⁶³ throughout the centre. To the west also the boundary has expanded upto the mouth of the Indus⁶⁴ showing that the religious bar had been slackened a little. Still it is curious to find that Benares is disposed of in one verse and only one tirtha named Kapilahrada⁶⁵ is mentioned in connection with it. Lord Visvesvara has still not come into his own, showing that the times are still comparatively earlier. In fact it represents post-Buddhist period. For the rest certain localities are forming their own Mahatmyas and one whole *Adhyāya* (Mbh. 3.81) is entirely devoted to the Kuruksetra area. It may be even a much later interpolation if we look into its details and a distinctly mediæval outlook.

⁶¹ B. C. SEN *op cit* p. 21. Baudhajana and Vasistha put the limit to Āryavarta at Prayāga. *Ibid* p. 15.

⁶² Mbh. 3.83.2.3.

⁶³ Mbh. 3.82.63.66.97.113.93.83.38.31.55.67.

⁶⁴ Mbh. 3.80-85.97.

⁶⁵ Mbh. 3.82.69.

Just as Gaya Mahatmya though inserted in the Vaya Purana has been proved after detailed examination to belong to the 13th or 14th⁶⁶ century similarly some portions of the Pulastya tirthayatra like this Kuruksetra Adhyaya may prove to be later interpolations. The whole outlook and spirit of the Pulastya narration are different in kind from those of the Dhaumya narration. A man is awarded fabulous returns for the insignificant investment of bathing in some small pool of water. Pulastya tells in so many words that his enumeration is meant to substitute⁶⁷ tirthas in place of costly yajnas requiring much wealth collection of various articles and instruments and the efforts of many persons. As this is possible only for very rich individuals or kings the tirthayatra is substituted for the benefit of indigent persons. While washing away of sins providing for the ancestors and in general the acquisition of holy spirit were the benefits expected by visiting holy places in the Dhaumya age anything and everything is made available in the Pulastya age showing that now tirthayatra had become a business of idle Brahmins subsisting on the good deeds of their ancestors and using their good names as capital for plying their nefarious trade.

To come back to the geographical field the pilgrim's itinerary detailed in these narrations and elsewhere in the Mahabharata deserves comparative study. It throws some light on the roads which the Aryans took in their expansion. It appears that at first they took a northerly route when coming down the Gangetic basin. Instead of coming down to Agra from the Ambala Delhi region they would go south east by crossing the Ganges to the north of Hastinapura and enter the Naimisa forest on the banks of the present Gomati river through what afterwards became Uttara Pancala country⁶⁸. Then they would enter Kosala on the banks of Śarayū but would not go further. Thence they again took a south easternly direction and after crossing the Ganges would go to Gaya⁶⁹. Thence they returned along the southern banks of the Ganga and the Yamuna. The small river Karmanasa which one has to cross when going to Gaya from Benares probably keeps up the memory of the times when it was a religious offence to go beyond that boundary. When the Aryans

⁶⁶ B. M. BRUA *Gaya and Buddha Gaya* (1934) 1 64

⁶⁷ Mbh. 3 80 34 40

⁶⁸ Mbh. 1 207 4 7 2 26 3 4 3 93 2 5 9

⁶⁹ Mbh. 3 82 5 6 93 5 9

had taken the second step going beyond the original pale by crossing the river Sadānirā, which may be either the Rapti or the Gandak, they still kept a northerly route as far as possible and that way reached Assam via north Bengal. The river Karatoyā⁷⁰ seems to have been their boundary on that side for some time. Thence they came down to the mouths⁷¹ of the river Ganges and took a south-westerly route through the present Orissa⁷². A forest route⁷³ through Chhotā Nāgpur connecting the mouth of the river Ganges with Gayā seems to have been developed from an early time. But that was after the Aryans had already crossed the Vindhya. The first southern route seems to have been through the Central Provinces⁷⁴. Thence via Berar and the Tapti valley, they seem to have entered Konkan⁷⁵. Perhaps already a west coast sea-route had been in existence or was being developed by the forward Aryans. Otherwise it is difficult to account for the far-separated places along the coast in Dhaumya's southern itinerary. Cape Comorin⁷⁶ in the extreme south, Gokarna⁷⁷ some five hundred miles up to the north, thence again a leap of 350 miles to Sūrpāraka,⁷⁸ thence giving a clean sweep to the gulf of Cambay, to Prabhasa-Pattan⁷⁹ in south Kathiawar—a distance of two hundred miles by the direct sea-route—, and finally Dvārakā,⁸⁰ the westernmost point of the same peninsula. This cannot be explained unless we imagine a direct sea-communication, because no intervening inland places have been noted by Dhaumya at all. The first land-route to the extreme south seems to have been developed along the eastern border. We have already noted that the Aryans had early reached mount Mahendra on the Bay of Bengal, presumably from the Citrakūta Kālāñjara region in Bundelkhand which originally formed the Cedi country. A forest-route via Mount Amarakantaka, after visiting the sources⁸¹ of the rivers Narmada and Son and passing through the Dakṣiṇa Kosala

⁷⁰ Mbh 2 27 22 24

⁷¹ Mbh 1 207 10 13, 3 114 1 2

⁷² Mbh 1 207 13, 3 114 3 4 26

⁷³ Mbh 1 207 1 9 11 2 27 14 16 17 20 22 23

⁷⁴ Mbh 3 83 8-16, 85 15 16, 86 3-5

⁷⁵ Mbh 3 86 2-9

⁷⁶ Mbh 3 86 11, 1 209 11, 3 118 4

⁷⁷ Mbh 3 86 12, 1 209 24

⁷⁸ Mbh 3 86 9, 118 8, 1 210 1

⁷⁹ Mbh 3 86 17, 118 15, 1 210 2

⁸⁰ Mbh 3 86 21, 1 210 15

⁸¹ Mbh 3 83 8 9

seems to have reached Mahendra in Orissa. At present this route is represented roughly by the Katni-Bilaspur-Rampur-Ganjam railway line. Afterwards this point was joined to the westernmost mouth of the river Ganges by a route through Orissa but not along the sea coast. King Yuddhiṣṭhira, after bathing at the point where the Gangā reached the sea, came to Mahendra via this route, after crossing the river Vaitarani.⁸² Arjuna also went on his round to Mahendra after crossing the Kalingas.⁸³ By the times of the Pulastya version, Śrī-Śaila⁸⁴ shrine on the Krishna to the south of the present Nizam's territories seems to have been also marked as their own by the Aryans. Agastya-tīrtha of the Dhaumya narration seems to be represented by the Agastiampalli⁸⁵ just to the north of the Point Calimere at the south-east corner of the extreme south. From this point one can cross over to the extreme north-point of Ceylon by sailing for less than fifty miles.

Compared to later times, the Aryans of the *Mahābhārata* age were in close contact and communication with the trans-Himalayan⁸⁶ peoples. The sources of the Ganges and the Jumna were cherished and held fast and dear. Racial memories were still imbedded in the earlier homes beyond the borders of *Bhāratavarṣa*. Poets waxed eloquent over those icy, barren, blasted lands with imaginary fond memories. Fabulous things were talked of those lands and the peoples were often treated as either superhuman, non-human or godly. At the same time the Nepal valley does not seem to have been developed still. Kīrāta⁸⁷ tribes were supposed to be living there and these were in regular communication with the Aryans. Kīrāta women⁸⁸ were valued and sought for as slaves. But their forests were impenetrable and dangerous. The north-west with Kashmir⁸⁹ was more known and in constant communication. A trans-Himalayan plateau route from the sources of the Indus, the Sutlaj and the Brahmaputrā to the east seems to have been in existence from very early times. Skirting the north bank of the Brahmaputra on the Tibet plateau, it went to the north of Bhutan and thence descended into the

⁸² Mbh 3 114 3, 4

⁸³ Mbh 1 207.13

⁸⁴ Mbh 3 83 16 'Śrī parvata on the river bank' is to be identified with Śrī-Saila

⁸⁵ *Madras District Gazetteer—Tanjore* (1906) p 284. It has a temple of Agastya

⁸⁶ Mbh 2 23 24 25, 3 140-153, 155, 160 163, 164

⁸⁷ Mbh 2 27 13, 23 19

⁸⁸ Mbh 2 48 10

⁸⁹ Mbh 2 24, 48.3, 14.

Assam valley and Bengal Arjuna came in along this road and conquered Bhagadatta,⁹⁰ the Mleccha king of Prāgyotisa (Eastern Light) in his northern conquest This indirectly supports the theory that the Aryans had not gone beyond the Sadanira in those early times For the rest the itineraries of the four Pandava brothers in their conquest of the quarters seem to have been much tampered with and full of later interpolations, taking even a cursory view of the same

What strikes a student of geography as strange is the support of Kalidāsa to the existence of the same early path in his itinerary of King Raghu⁹¹ Raghu also in his conquests *did not cross the Ganges*,⁹² but went to the conquest of the south instead, from the mouths of that river After finishing the south, the west up to Persia⁹³ and the north west, he after passing along Mount Kailāsa⁹⁴ on the Tibet plateau, *crosses the Brahmaputra (Lohitya)*⁹⁵ into Prāgyotisa, which is again treated as separate from Kamarūpa⁹⁶ or the present Assam valley The commentator Mallinātha is clear on this point, but all the later scholars have confused and identified Prāgyotisa with Kamarūpa⁹⁷

Certain broad facts thus emerge from our study First that the Aryans had, before going to the east, crossed over into the Deccan Secondly that the southern land route lay along the east-coast and through the centre of the peninsula Thirdly the west coast was probably discovered by the sea-route Fourthly the sandy tracts of upper Rajaputana were early colonized And lastly that a great trans-Himalayan route was in constant use from these early times

Identifications of various points and places with filling in of details, together with the naming in of countries, wild tracts, mountains, rivers and lakes, will form a separate study

⁹⁰ Mbh 2 23 17 19 47 12 13

⁹¹ *Raghuatamsa* IV

⁹² *Ibid* IV 36

⁹³ *Ibid* IV 60

⁹⁴ *Ibid* IV 80

⁹⁵ *Ibid*, IV 81

⁹⁶ *Ibid* IV 83-4

⁹⁷ Hemacandra in his *Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi* (IV 22) says Prāgyotisaḥ kamarūpaḥ But from the Mahābhārata and *Raghuatamsa* data Prāgyotisa seems to have included the slopes of the Himalayas with Nepal Bhutan as well as Assam together with the Tibet plateau adjoining these

MAHĀBHĀRATA CITATIONS IN THE ŚABARA BHĀṢYA

By

V. M. APTE and D. V. GARGE

§1. Śabara's Bhāṣya on the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā sūtras of Jaimini is replete with verse—and prose—quotations from Vedic literature. From post-Vedic literature the number of verse-quotations (quoted in full or in part) is only twenty-six, prose-quotations being almost negligible. Of these twenty-six, one is from the Nirukta¹; two occur in the fairly late Pāṇinīya Śiṅsā² and the remaining verses are either *subhāṣitas* or elucidate some technical points. The latter for the most part, appear to have been drawn from the floating mass of poetic dicta—proverbial or technical—as is clear from their introductory remarks like ' *evam āmonanti* ', ' *ślokaṃ apy udōharanti* ', ' *ślokaś ca bhavoti* ', etc.³

§2. Only three of these metrical passages appear to have been borrowed from the Mahābhārata. Of these two are traced to other texts also and the third appears to be the paraphrase of a verse-part from the Mbh.⁴ 2.59.11. It is the purpose of this paper to discuss the various problems connected with these apparent citations from the Mahābhārata. We shall therefore take them one after another :

§3. [*api ca svāminas tayō kṛma kartavyom. na tat parityajya svaḥar-mārhati kartum. yat tayōnyena prakṛōrenopārjyate tot potyur eva svam bhovitum arhaṭi, evaṃ smarati :*]

*bhārgyō dāsaś ca putras ca, nirdhanāḥ sorva eva te |
yat te samadhigacchanti, yasya te tosyō tad dhonam || iti |*

—Śabara on JS VI.i.12.

Translation.—[(Again), it is the duty of a woman to work for her husband; it does not behove her to neglect it and do any work on her own account. In fact, whatever she might earn in any other manner would be the property of her husband. There is a *smṛti*-passage (to the same effect):] 'The wife, the slave and the son—all are devoid of (the right to) property; whatever they earn is the property of him to whom they themselves belong.'

¹ 24

² See verses Nos 9 and 52.

³ Vide Bhāṣya on JS. IV iii. 2, IV. iv. 24; IV iv.28, etc.

⁴ The references are throughout to the Critical Edition, unless otherwise specified.

Context The question discussed by the Bhāṣya on JS VI 16-16 is whether or not women are entitled to perform Vedic sacrifices. The Purvapaksin argues that they are not, because they cannot independently undertake a sacrificial performance which involves the use and dispensation of family property to which they have no right. The above verse has been quoted as an authority on this point, since it purports to say that a woman must do the work of her husband, she should not labour on her own account, to the neglect thereof. Anything she earns (for herself) in some other manner [i.e. by cooking or stitching (for other people)], becomes the property of her husband alone. [The Siddhāntin, of course, refutes this view by pointing out two passages from the *Śruti*⁵ (the final authority in such matters) to the effect that women do possess such a right and consequently are entitled to perform sacrificial rites prescribed in the Vedic texts.]

Notes Our verse has parallels in the Manusmṛiti VIII 416 as well as in the Mahābhārata 1 77 22 (repeated again in 5 33 57). This is just what is expected as the present verse is introduced with the words *evam smoroti*, which clearly indicate that it is a *smṛiti* passage rather than a *śruti* one. This however, leaves the question open as to which of the two above-mentioned texts (the Manusmṛiti or the Mbh) is the source of our quotation, because the term *smṛiti* is wide enough to cover both the texts. [See the Bhāṣya on JS X 14 23 where *smoryote* refers to *Itihāsa*s and *Purāṇa*s under which general category we include the Mbh, or the Mbh may be said to be included under the wide term *sistācara* (Bhāṣya on JS I 11 5 7) works falling under which category are placed under the *smṛiti*-class as the *Vartikākāro* (Kumarila) actually does, when he illustrates *sistācara* by references to the contents of the Mbh stories.] Hence we must discuss the reading of the verse to settle the problem of the source-text —

Manu's version differs very slightly from the Bhāṣya-one and that only in the first hemistich (*cb*) which runs —

bhāryā putras ca dasas ca nirdhanāḥ sorva eva te ,

the second hemistich (*cd*) being identical Mbh 1 77 22ab (=V 33 57ab)

⁵ Vide Bhāṣya on JS VI 16 (1) *Patnī uai pāṇmayajasyeṣṭe palya va gatamanumatam kṛyate* (cf TS 6 2 11) (2) *Jaghanyaṁ patnīḥ samyajayanti bhasadī riyā hi patnayoḥ bhavadā uā etoḥ paragrhanamā svayamācārundhata ite*

words ' *evam smarati* ' with which the quotation is introduced—a form of introduction not used by the Bhasya while quoting from the Great Epic, as will be seen from the next two citations from that work (See also our remarks at the end)

§4 The second quotation occurs in the following Bhāṣya passage —

[*yaḥ putrasya phalam ātmanḥ sva pritiḥ*

etam evaātmanah pritiṁ abhupretya bhavati vacanam ātmā vai putra ' iti ,]

angād angat sambhavasī hṛdayad abhi jāyase

ātmā vai putranāmāsi sa jīva saradaḥ satam | iti

—Sabara on JS IV.iii.38

Translation [Whatever good result accrues to the son, it brings pleasure to the (father's) self It is with reference to this very pleasure of (the father himself) that such assertions are made as "The son is verily (one's own) self and] Thou art born (limb by limb), from each limb of mine art generated from my heart thou art my own Self with the name *putra* mayest thou live for a hundred autumns

Context In the course of a description of the *vaisvānareṣu*, the Taittirīya Samhitā 2.2.5 lays down that the reward in the form of glory and wealth arising from it, accrues not to the sacrificer himself but to his son—a person different from the sacrificer In this connection, the Bhāṣya observes that the apportionment may be strange but not incongruous as the son is too closely related to the father, to be treated as a different entity The father again has all his interests (spiritual and material) centered in the son This proposition is next supported by the above citation which purports to say that the son is born from out of the limbs of the father as it were, and is generated from his heart, (in short) he is (his own) Self reproduced with the name, *putra* i.e. 'son'

Notes Now the earliest text where this verse occurs in an almost identical form is a Śruti—one viz the Śatapatha Brahmana⁸ wherein its two hemistiches have been commented upon in two separate places The Śatapatha Brahmana version of the verse is found also in the Kausitaki Brahmanopaniṣad⁹, in the Āśvalayana¹⁰, Hiranyakesi¹¹, Manava¹², and Pāraskara¹³—Gṛhaysūtras, in the Āpastamba Mantra—Brāhmaṇa¹⁴, in the Nirukta¹⁵ All these texts read *adhi-jāyase* instead of the Bhāṣya

⁸ 1494826

⁹ 211

¹⁰ 1159

¹¹ 232

¹² 1186

¹³ 1182

¹⁴ 21133

¹⁵ 34

obhū jāyose in the second *pōḍa* The Mbh verse (Ī 68 62) has, however, an absolutely indentical version

Now, it is interesting to note that for the Mbh verse, the critical apparatus gives the following account of variants in *pāda b*

K₀ N V₁ B₁ D (except D₁ 2) S ⁰*yododhujā*⁰

The variant *adhujoyase* which is more in agreement with the Vedic texts enumerated above, has been rejected by the Editor. There may thus have been a deliberate attempt on the part of the copyists of the Mss whose evidence is rejected to restore the citation to its Vedic form. This is an illustration of one of the tendencies responsible for the *differentiae* in some Mss of the Mahabhārata to which attention has been drawn by Dr APTE in his article *Rgveda Citations in the Mahabhārata* in the following words¹⁶ The question, whether a passage from an early Vedic text is a citation with or without modifications is further complicated except in the critically edited *parvans* by the peculiar, though interesting circumstance that some manuscript variants actually restore the citations to their pristine purity

In the *parvans* already critically edited, we know exactly what reading of the suspected citation is favoured by the manuscript evidence and thus are in a position to decide at once whether we have to deal with a citation or an *ūho*. But in the case of other *parvans* not so edited yet this is by no means certain unless one examines the manuscript collations for that *parvan*. The fact, nevertheless, that some manuscripts give a version identical with the source passage in its original form throws an interesting sidelight on the tendencies at work responsible for the *differentiae* in some manuscripts. We shall not therefore be wrong to suppose that the Mbh is the source of Śabara's quotation rather than any one of the earlier Vedic texts mentioned above. However, the possibility, though remote is not excluded that Śabara is quoting inaccurately from one of the Vedic texts¹

5 Now follow two separate passages in the Bhasya both containing our third quotation in two separate contexts —

1 [drstoiruddham apī bhavati kṛncīdvacanam potracayonam vidhāyaha so esō yajnogudhī yajamono njasā svarcam lokam yatī iti prat yakṣam sarīroḥam vyapodisati na ca tat svargam lokam yatīti pratyā kṣom hi taddahyote evamjālīyoham promānaviruddham

¹⁶ A Volume of Studies in Indology presented to Prof P V KANE p 28

vacanamapramānam] 'ambuni majjanty alābūni, grāvānaḥ plavanta' iti yathā.

—Śabara on JS. I.i.5.

Translation : [(Further), there are certain passages in the Veda which declare something that goes counter to direct preception ; (for instance), when having enjoined the collection of sacrificial implements (on the death of the sacrificer), the Veda says that 'the sacrificer thus equipped with the sacrificial implements goes straight to the heavenly world', it pointedly refers to the dead body. Now, the body never goes to the heavenly world as it is burnt before our very eyes. A statement of this type, opposed to direct evidence, is as unauthoritative] as statement like 'gourds sink in water (and) stones float'

2. [*Nanu, vaidikāni karmāni phalavanti bhavāntityevam uktam. ucyate, phaladarśanāt tāni phalavāntityuktaṁ, na vaidikātvāt. evam tarhi kartavyatāvagamāt phalavāntity adhyavasyāmah. sukhaphalam hi kartavyam bhavānti, ucyate, pratyakṣaviruddhamevāmjāṣiyakasya kartavyatvam. sāk-
śād dhi tad dukkhaphalam avagacchāmah na caivāmjāṣiyakam pratyak-
ṣaviruddham vacanam pramānam bhavati.*] yathā'mbuni majjanty alābūni, śilāḥ plavante, pāvakaḥ śīta' iti.

Śabara on JS. IV.iii.10.

Translation : [(If it be objected), 'it has been declared that acts prescribed in the Veda are fruitful',—the answer is that the acts have been determined as fruitful because of the actual mention of the reward (following their prescription); not simply because they have been prescribed in the Veda. (If the objector now says), 'even so, we determine that they must yield rewards because they are known as prescribed (in the Vedas). A prescribed act must bring about a happy result. In answer to this (Pūrvapakṣin continues) : Then the prescriptive character of such an act is opposed to the direct evidence of the senses, because it is directly perceived that it yields disagreeable results. No prescriptive statement of this type that is opposed to the direct evidence of the senses, can have authority,] like the statement (in common parlance) 'gourds sink in water, stones float, and fire is cold' (which can have no authority whatsoever).

Context : (1) On JS I.i.5, the Bhāṣya leads up to the Siddhānta-view that Vedic statements are infallible and hence they alone are the final

authority in religious matters, after a rebuttal of the Pūrvapakṣin's argument that since there is many an irrational and absurd statement found here and there in the Veda, it cannot have any injunctive force. To illustrate his point of view, the Pūrvapakṣin selects the *Śruti* statement, 'sa esa yajñāyudhu yajamāno'ṇṇasā svaṛgam lokam yāti' [=This sacrificer after death equipped with sacrificial implements, goes straight to heaven], as an example of sheer absurdity, because it declares something which is inconsistent with the direct evidence of the senses. The dead body along with the sacrificial implements, is actually burnt to ashes.¹ The *Śruti*-statement therefore, can be matched only by an irrational and absurd statement in common parlance, like the one quoted above, which means 'gourds sink in water and stones float'. [This argument has been answered of course, by the Siddhāntin by the postulation of an immortal soul which disentangles itself from the mortal frame, long before it is burnt up and is therefore in a position to go upto heaven equipped with all the implements in a subtle (or *linga*) form.]

(ii) The purport of the second passage and its context are as follows — In the course of a discussion under JS IV in 10, regarding the rewards of Vedic injunctions, the Pūrvapakṣin points out that there are certain injunctions in the Veda, like 'sa viśvayitātīrōṭireṇa sarvoparīṭhena sarvasatomena sarvavedasadaṁśinena yajeta',¹⁷ which includes no reference to any reward for the act enjoined therein. How on earth could a man be persuaded to undertake an elaborate undertaking like the *viśvayit* sacrifice which not only brings no reward but on the contrary (positive) misery (owing to the giving away of all property as *daṁśinā*)? This passage thus enjoins something very impractical and competes in its ignorance of human nature and absurdity with the secular passage quoted above.¹⁸ [The Siddhāntin, however, postulates heaven as the general reward for all sacrificial rites for which no specific reward has been mentioned, and thus provides a human motive or purpose.]

Notes As regards the quotation 'ambunī etc.', occurring in these two places in the Bhasya we find that the two versions are varying

¹⁷ cf Apī 14.231

¹⁸ We would like to point out that the *subhāṣita* as an example of an irrational statement is not very aptly quoted here in support because a psychological error in making a prescriptive statement incomplete owing to a serious omission is not on a par with a patent absurdity that goes counter to an actually observed fact. The *subhāṣita* is quoted in a comparatively better context in the former of the two places in the *Bhāṣya*.

paraphrases of a part of the Mbh.—verse 2.59.11*, the whole of which reads as :

*majjanty alābūni śilāḥ plavante
muhyanti nāvo'mbhasi śaśvad eva |
mūdho rājā Dhrtarāstrasya putrah
na me vācaḥ pathyarūpāḥ śrnoti ||*

We now take up for discussion, the treatment of this original in two separate contexts in the Bhāṣya ; one after another :

[No. 2 above]. Bhāṣya on JS IV.iii. 10 : Śābara has spoilt the metrical character of the first *pāda* of this verse while quoting it, by prefixing *ambuni* to it. He did so apparently to avoid quoting the second line which contains the necessary synonymous word *ambhasi* and to make it self-sufficient in its sense and syntax. If we remove *ambuni* in the beginning and the additional words *pāvakaḥ śilāḥ* at the end of the quotation, we restore the original metrical form ; but the additions at the two extremities give the whole passage so different an appearance that the original Mbh. verse-part becomes very hard to detect

[No 1 above]. Bhāṣya on JS I.i.5 : Here there is no extra addition at the end but the restoration of the original metrical form after the removal of the prefixed *ambuni*, is still not possible, because the Bhāṣya here makes a substitution namely, '*grāvāṇaḥ*' for '*śilāḥ*', and thus completely obliterates the metrical character of the original verse-statement.

§6. Thus we find two unquestioned quotations from the Mbh occurring in the Bhāṣya. The introductory formula in both these cases, is simply *vacanam* (= 'so it is stated') and is distinct from that which introduces a quotation from recognized *smṛti*-works. Though a number of treatises dealing with religious topics incidentally, like the Mbh., are also included under the term '*smṛti*' (used in its wider sense), Śābara appears to be making a distinction between such treatises and those that deal principally with religion like the *smṛti*-works of Manu and earlier Vedic works like the Sūtras, from the manner of his introduction of quotations from the former class of works which are never introduced with words like *evam smaranti*, *iti smaryate*, etc. Such a distinction was mainly due to the fact that the hieratic contents of the *smṛtis* of Manu and others, endowed them with greater authority in the eyes of the Bhāṣyakāra than

was warranted to the Mbh. in spite of its relatively earlier chronological position, *vis à-vis*, the former works. Some parts of the Great Epic may be even older than some parts of the Manusmṛti and are definitely so than the later Smṛtis. The Mbh. is as much a *Dharmaśāstra* as an *Itihāsa*, but the popular (and therefore less authoritative ¹) character of the Epic, recited as it was, before all types of people—the classes and the masses,—apparently lowered its authority as compared to the Smṛtis in the eyes of the Bhāṣyakāra. This has an exact parallel in the inferior authority attaching to the *Atharvaveda* as compared with *Sāma*—and *Yajur*—*vedas* irrespective of any consideration of relative chronology.

ON THE SOURCES OF VILLIPUTTŪRĀR-BHĀRATAM

By

C. R. SANKARAN and K. RAMA VARMA RAJA

In this paper an attempt is made to compare the Tamil *Villiputtūrār-bhāratam* with the critical edition of the Mahābhārata* with special reference to the Southern manuscript versions in order to throw light on the important question whether and how far the Tamil work is based upon the Great Epic as it was known to its author. We have confined ourselves only to an examination of the Ādiparvan and we have used the excellent edition of V. M. GOPALAKRṢṆAMĀCĀRYA's *villiputtūrār-bhāratam*.

Apparently, Villiputtūrār who lived in the latter part of the 14th century A.D. intended to write an epitome of the great work and he had before him an already abridged version in Agastya Pandita's *Bālabhārata*, a poem in 20 cantos relating the whole story of the Mahābhārata beginning with the origin of the Kuru line of kings from the Moon. This Agastya was a poet at the court of King Pratāparudradeva of Warangal¹ and was probably patronised by King Sangama and Bukka I of Vijjanagar. Agastya's poem is said to be highly musical,² and remarkable for its felicity of expression. The Tamil work is also equally remarkable for both these qualities

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¹ Villiputūrār lived in the latter part of the 14th century A.D. Vide V. M. GOPALAKRṢṆAMĀCĀRYA's edition, p. 9

² M. KRṢṆAMĀCĀRYĀ, *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, Madras, 1937, p. 214. We had no access to *Bālabhārata* either in print or in manuscript. All the references to *Bālabhārata* in this paper are based on statements found in V. M. GOPALAKRṢṆAMĀCĀRYĀ's edition of the Tamil work, in the Tamil commentary provided therein. It is therefore needless to point out that the problem of the indebtedness of Villiputtūrār to Agastya itself requires a more thorough and detailed investigation and requires a special and separate treatment.

It must be noted here that Villiputtūrār himself says that he based his work on the Mahābhārata Cf

*kaṇṇapākameykalippaṭōralappirōlkatamun
bonṇapāvalanru kalarucukkaṇṇiruttātai
yannabhāratantannaiyōr aruḷēṇuraippa
tenṇapāvamaṇṇennai yinṇen calatulaḷe*

Taccirappāppayiram stanza 5

"What will nat the world say exclaiming 'what a folly!' since I, a fool, have ventured to write the Bhārata, the old sacred story composed by the famous Vyāsa, father of the flawless Śuka

In the following stanzas (6, 7 and 8) he says further that Vyasa's great work is equal to the Veda, immeasurable in extent and Villiputtūrār composing this work again would look like a dumb person enquiring of the extent of the vast expanse of the sky or a blind man attempting to see it 'Vyasa who knew fully all the Vedas has composed the famous epic To render it in Tamil, I would mar its charm through infelicitous expressions May the learned forgive this fault of mine Gods and sages well versed in the sacred lore are engaged in fathoming the inexhaustible charm of Vyāsa's work What can I understand in this? But I have ventured to write only because Madhava's story is met with at every stage here "

*maṇṇumādhavan caritamun itaiyitai valanḷu
menṇumācaiyāl yāṇumutiyamputarḷicaiṇṇē*

ib stanza 8, lines 3 and 4³

One is tempted to compare these lines with the following, which D₄m₉ (incomplete), 10-12 T G (except G 1, 6, 7) insert after 1123 in the Mbh (notes p 7)

*namo bhagavate tasmai Vyāsāyāmutatejase
yasya prasādād vakṣyāmi Nārāyaṇakathāmunām*

What is important in these intraductory stanzas of the Tamil work is that there is not even one reference to Agastya's Bālabhārata Of course the *argumentum ex silentio* is notoriously fragile In this connection we might mention that in stanza 17 of the first Sarga Villiputtūrār refers to the extensive Yayātyupakhyāna found in the Mbh (170-80) which seems to have been omitted altogether by Agastya

³ Cf stanza 1 Sambhava Sarga cf stanza 1 Varanavata Sarga

In the first Sarga, the Kurukula Sarga of the Tamil work we meet with a puzzling statement that Candra was born to the fire citiṭirokṣanan muḥattinum pironṭohicirāṇṭōn (stanza 5, line 4) Soma and Agni are reckoned as joint fathers of gold⁴ Soma is the son of Atri⁵ A large number of scholars agree that in a few of the latest hymns of the RgVeda (the 1st and 10th books), Soma is already identified with the Moon In the post-Vedic literature, Soma is a regular name of the Moon Now, if the 'Vena' hymn of the RgVeda (X 123) is looked upon as a hymn to Soma, then it may be pointed out that v 2 refers to Vena as the son of the Sun Villiputtūrār has probably this as his basis and some puranic version too⁶ In the Harivamsa also there is an allusion to the Moon being born to Atri⁷

In the seventh stanza there is an allusion to Manu's son Ilā being metamorphosed into a girl (Tamil Ilai corresponding to Sanskrit Ilā) through a curse of Pārvatī as he entered into a prohibited forest In the Mahābhārata, Ilā is spoken of as Vaivasvata Manu's offspring —

*Venam Dhr̥ṣṇum Norisyonṭom Nōbhōgeḥsvāḥum evo co
Korūsam otho Śoryōtim tothovātrosomim Ilōm
Prsodhronovamōn ōhuh kṣotrodhormoporōyanōn
Nōbhōgōristodasomōn manoh putrān mahō-bolōn*

Mahābhārata I 70 13-14

In the Bālabharata Ilā is said to be the offspring of Garddama Rsi

In the 19th stanza, we are told that Yayāti fell in love with Śarmisthā and took her by the Gāndharva form of marriage secretly without the knowledge of his wife Devayāni In the Mahābhārata we are told that

⁴ E W HOPKINS *Epic Mythology* p 147

⁵ *Ibid* p 90 A A MACDONELL, *Vedic Mythology* p. 112

⁶ We owe this account of the relationship of Soma Candra and the Sun (the same as the celestial form of Agni) to Prof V M APTE

⁷ Cf *netrābhyām vāri susrāta dasadhā dyōṭayad dīśah
tam garbham dāsadhā hṣtā dīśo devyō dadhau tataḥ
sametya dhārayāmāsur na cedas tam āśakṣvan
sa tabhyas sahasavūṭha dīśbhyo garbhaḥ prabhām itah
papāta pāvayan lokān ājñānīṣṭh surabhavanah*

Mallinatha's Commentary on stanza 75 Canto 2 *Raghuvamśa*

Sukracarya while giving Devayani in marriage to Yayatī asked him to look after Sarmistha but not to marry her

*Iyam capi kumārī te Śarmistha varṣaparvanī
Sampūjya satatam rājan ma cainam sayane hvayeh
Mahabharata 1 76 34*

In the Southern Manuscripts we have a slight amplification besides substitution

*Iyam kumārī Śarmistha duhita vṛṣaparvanah
tam pujaयetha ma cainam sayane vai samahvaya
rahasy enam samahuya na vader na ca samsprseh
vahasva bharyam bhadram te yathakamam avapsyasi
Critical notes on 1 76 34 Mhb (p 347)*

In regard to Śarmistha giving birth to Pūru and Śukracarya cursing Yayatī and at the same time telling him that Yayatī might exchange his old age the Tamil Bharatam (stanzas 21 23) agrees with the original Mahabharata (1 70 32 1 78 30 1 78 40)

In stanza 30 of the Tamil work there is an allusion to Indradyumna becoming an elephant and Anuru becoming a crocodile From Moon (Candra) to Vicitravīrya the genealogy is in agreement with that found in Balabharata After Hastin the next name mentioned is Kuru in the Balabharata We might incidentally mention that this stanza 30 is suspected to be an interpolation by some scholars But there are no decisive arguments for this view There are two different accounts of the Kuru Pandava line in the Mahabharata itself According to one Hastin is the son of Dhṛtarāstra⁸ and Kuru is an ancestor of Hastin⁹ According to the other account Hastin is an ancestor of Kuru and was the founder of Hastinapuram¹⁰ Kuru being Hastin's great grandson

⁸ Dhṛtarāstrōtha rājānī tasya putrōṣṭha Kurudhah
Hast Vīta kah hrathas ca Kūṇḍalas cap pancamah
Mbh 1 89 51

⁹ tatas samvaranāt Sauri svīte tapat kurum
Mbh 1 89 42 ab

¹⁰ Cf verses 28 and 29 of the Kuru kula Sarga of the Tamil Bharata
suhot ah khalo Ikṣvākum upayame suvargam nama |
tasyam asya jayne Hast | ya idam Hast napuram mapaya
masa || etad asya hastena paratvam ||
Mbh 1 90 36.

son¹¹ In the original Mahābhārata Indrasena is mentioned in the Kuru-Pandava line of kings,¹² but there is no mention of his having been cursed. Anuru's name is not found in that line.

In stanza 59 of the Tamil work it is stated that Varuna who looked at the limbs of Gangā in the open court of the gods was cursed by Brahma to be born on the earth and be Gangā's husband (stanza 60). In the Mahābhārata however we find that it was Mahābhīsa and not Varuna who was cursed thus:

*atha Gangā saricchresthā samupāyāt Pīṣāmaham
tasyā vāsah samudhūtam mārutena saśiprabham
tato' bhavan suraganāh sahasāvānmuḥhās tadā
Mahābhīsa tu rājarsir asanḥka dr̥stavān nadīm
apadhyāto bhagavatā brahmanā sa māhabhīsaḥ
ukṭas ca jāto martyesu punarlokānavāpsyasi*

I 91 4, 5 and 6¹³

The Bālabhārata also follows the same trend. In stanza 85 of the Tamil work we are told that when Śantanu is hit by the arrow sent by Devavrata, the king faints and falls down¹⁴ and Gangādevī makes her appearance and takes the king in her lap, with great compassion. She is compared to Lakṣmī being born with the moon, from the milky ocean like a creeper with beautiful flowers.

ōlaventiraiyir matiyutanutitta vorumalarkkotiyeṇa

Here apparently Devavrata is compared to the moon also. Bālabhārata has *nūdhineva lakṣmī*. Hence the commentator suggests that there might

¹¹ *Samvaranah khalu vanasulim tapatim namopayame tasyamasya jagne Kuruh* ||
Mbh I 90 40

¹² *Indrasenah Suteṇasca Bhīmasenāca nāmataḥ*
Mbh I 89 48 cd

¹³ After 6 D₄ (marg. sec. m) S (D₄ G₂ om line 1) 1113
*manuṣye'u citram sthītvā lokān prāpyasi 'sobhamān
yayā hṛtamanā' cā' Gangayā tvam sudarmate
sā te vai mānuse loke upriyānny ācarāyasi
yadā te bhavīṣā manjās tadā śāpādvimokṣyase*

¹⁴ *sa tu tam pīṭaram dṛṣtvā mohayāmāsa māyayā.*
Mbh I 94 27 ab

have been another reading *toa* as *nityutan utilla* instead of *matiyutanu tilla*¹⁵ In the Mahābharata however there is no such comparison

In stanza 105 of the Tamil work there is a reference to a divine nymph becoming a fish [through the curse of a sage¹⁶] who thinking it to be food had swallowed the semen let down by Vasu Here the sage (muni) referred to is apparently Brahma¹⁷ While we meet with a simple statement of the death of Śantanu in the Mahabharata¹⁸ we are told in stanza 113 of the Tamil work that Destiny through old age raised Śantanu to heaven while Bhīṣma installed Citrangada on the throne thinking that for the earth he alone should be the ruler — Cf

tato vidhir visrasayopagudham
narendram aropayati sma nākam
bhismo pi sastrastravidam kumāram
citrangadam pauravarajyapitham [Balabharatam]

In stanza 114 of the Tamil work we are told that Citrangada was killed by a Gandharva king one night for stealing his name Here the suggestion is clearly that the Gandharva king came at night solely on account of the fear he had for Bhīṣma whom therefore he wanted to avoid meeting In the Balabharata also we are told that the Gandharva king killed Citrangada in Bhīṣma's absence But there is a difference in the two narratives

¹⁵ N dhi treasure is poss bly Kaustubhamani and not so much *amṛta* nectar We owe this suggestion to Prof V M APTE

¹⁶ *orunum munival*

¹⁷ Cf *tatradriketi vikhyaṭa Brahmasapād varapsarāḥ*
m nabhavam anuprāpta bobhuva Yamunacari
syenapādaparibhrāṣṭam tad vīryam atha vāsalam
jagraha tarasopetya sadrūḥa matsyarūp ni

Mbh 1.57.47 and 48

¹⁸ *oprapṭavati tasmims ca yauvanam bhāratarābha*
sa rāja Śantanur dh mōnī kṣaladharmam upēy vān
svargate Śantanau Bhīṣmaś Citrangadam arundamam
sthapayamāsa vai rājye Satyawatyā male sthitaḥ

Mbh 1.95.4 and 5

In the Tamil work we are told that Bhīṣma went with his brother²⁰ to the *svayamvara* of the daughters of the king of Kāśī. Neither in the *Mahabhārata* nor in the *Bālabhārata* do we read that Bhīṣma went to the *svayamvara* accompanied by his brother Viçitravīrya.

*tatas sa rathinām srestho rathenaikena varmahrti
jagāmānumate mātuh purim vārāṇasim prati*

I 96 4 Mbh

In stanza 121 of the Tamil work we are told that all the rest of the kings assembled in the *svayamvara* despaired, wondering what the intention of Bhīṣma was in having come to the *svayamvara* when his vow not to marry was well-known to the whole world. Here is an apparent contradiction, for had his brother Viçitravīrya accompanied him as stated in stanzas 118 and 120, would the other kings have any cause for wonder why Bhīṣma came, much less a suspicion in their minds that he was breaking his vow not to marry although he was pretty old?²¹ This can however be compared with the statement made in the Southern version of the *Mahābhārata* that the other princes mocked at Bhīṣma for seeming to have broken his life-long celibacy.

*vrddhah paramadharmātmā valīpalitadhāraṇah
kīmkāraṇam ihāyāto nīlajjo bharatarṣabhah
mithyāpratītyo lōkeṣu kīm vadisyati bharata
brahmācārītī Bhīṣmo hi vrthaiḥ prathito bhūvi
ity evam prabrahmantas te hasanti sma nrpādhamāḥ²²*

In stanza 123 of the Tamil work we read that the daughters of the King of Kāśī at the *svayamvara* withdrew from Bhīṣma as they sighted him in the assembly, with the thought in their minds as to how they could marry

²⁰ *tanuḷaḷenṭoḷum stanza 118 line 3 Kurukulasarga*
venṇaracanavṭṭanur tann yum stanza 120 line 3
yannayennai ḷaḷalotē nān stanza 124 line 4
Ṣāṇṭaruppeyarṭṭar muṭṭummaṇṭan
maṇṭar taṇḱōḷi oḷaṇḱarmagṇṇar stanza 126 lines 3 and 4

²¹ *viruḷḷan tannan* stanza 121 line 3

²² Mbh 996* 48. The first three lines as well as the last one are omitted here as they are not relevant to the point. This passage though found in all Bombed is not found in Dn. Mss

Learning everything, Ambā's father sent messengers to Bhīṣma beseeching him to marry her (stanzas 131 and 132 of the Tamil work). But Bhīṣma refused and thereupon Ambā's father advised her to seek the aid of Paraśurāma in this matter. Ambā followed this advice accordingly; both Paraśurāma and Ambā approached Bhīṣma again, Paraśurāma persuading him to marry her. Bhīṣma preferred a fight with his own guru rather than breaking up his vow. Eventually Paraśurāma was conquered in the open fight and Ambā went to a penance-grove and made penance in order to become a mighty warrior so as to possess strength to conquer the great Bhīṣma. As a result of this mighty penance she became Śikhaṇḍin (stanzas 133 to 146 of the Tamil work). In the Bālabhārata all this story such as Bhīṣma fighting with Paraśurāma is not found. In the Mahābhārata, the whole story of the fight of Bhīṣma with Paraśurāma is narrated only in the Udyogaparvan in 12 adhyāyas 5.176-188. But here there is a slight divergence. It is not the father of Ambā who advises her to seek Paraśurāma's aid, but it is her grandfather who tenders her this advice²⁵.

2. Sambhava Sarga

After Vicitravīrya's death, Bhīṣma was persuaded by Satyawati to practise what is called *niyoga*²⁶ with Vicitravīrya's wives. He replies with a lacerated heart that if he were to decide to be born again in the womb of the famous Gaṅgā only then might his vow of celibacy be broken (stanza 4 of Sambhavasarga). In the Bālabhārata we are told that Bhīṣma

25 *Ambāyās tām katham śrutvā kṣīrājñās ca bhārata*
sa vepamāna ulthāya mātur anyāh pītā tadā

abravīd vepamānas ca kanyām arlām suduhkṣitāḥ

gaccha madvacanād Rāmam jāmādagnyam tapasvinam
Rāmas tava mahadduhkham śokam cāparanyāyati.

Mbh. 5.174.17-22.

26 The actual word used in the Tamil work is *devaramiti* which is obviously the *devaranyāya* referred to in the Mahābhārata.

Kuntī sampreṣayāmāsa devaranyāyadharmataḥ.

Mbh. 1.1274*.1.

replied in this context that Gangā's son would give up his vow only if fire were to give up heat. This is in consonance with the reply of Bhīṣma in the Mahābhārata. Compared to this farcible reply of Bhīṣma, the one given in the Tamil work is a mild one and it is clear that the author deviates from the Mahābhārata and from the Bālabhārata as well.

*tyajec ca prthivī gandham āpaś ca rasam ātmanah
jyotis tathā tyajed rūpam vāyuh sparsaḥ gunam tyajet
prabhāṁ samutsrjed arka dhūmaketus tathosnatām
tyajec chabdam tathākāśah somah sītāmsutām tyajet
vikramam vtrahā jahyād dharmam jahyāc ca Dharmarāt
natv aham satyam utsrastum vyavaseyam kathañcana,*

Mbh. 1.97. 16-18.

Satyavati invokes Vyāsa : he appears, cleansing the feet of Satyavati of the dust with sacred ashes on his forehead (stanza 10 of the Tamil work). This can be compared with the following lines in the Bālabhārata :

*pranāmalagnaena lalātabhasmanā
bhrśam pavitrīkṛtapādapaṅkajā.*

But in the Mahābhārata we meet with a more simple statement.

*sa vedān vibruvan dhūmān mātur vijñāya cīntitam
prādurbabhūvāvidītaḥ kṣatrena kuruṇandana*

Mbh. 1.99.22

In the commentary on the 12th verse commenting on the lines

*puṇmana nizaintoli kūzaintolkaṭṭaṭ
puṇaiyūm jeyyotum.....*

“(Vyāsa) with the (bad) smell of grass and a body without lustre and emaciated.....”, the commentator draws attention to the epithet *ahrdyagandham* in the Bālabhārata. It must be noted here that the readings of the southern manuscripts of the Mahābhārata are more in agreement with the Tamil work, and therefore here is a clear instance where the author of the Tamil work has followed more the original Mahābhārata

(of course the southern versions) than the Bālabhārata D₄ (marg)
G₆ M₃ 5 continue T G₁₋₅, M₆ 5) (om lines 3-4) insert after 5

*tam samikṣya tu Kausalyā duṣprekṣyam atathocitā
virūpam ite vitrastā samkucyāsm nimilitā
virūpo hi jati cāpi durvarṇah parusah kṛsah
sugandhetaragandhas ca sarvathā duṣpradarsanah*

Critical notes on Mbh 1 100 4

In stanza 14 the author of the Tamil work clearly follows the Bālabhārata²⁷ when he makes Satyavatī say to Vyāsa ' let Ambālīkā get a child who will be like the sun, husband of lotus with long stem and like the moon too, ruling over the beautiful earth under his canopy '

In regard to the statement that Ambālīkā became pale with fear and shyness and filled with sorrow, which we meet with in the 15th stanza of the Tamil work, apparently there is no disagreement between the Bālabhārata and the Mahābhārata

*vilokya sā canam uvāha lajita
vipānduratvam pura eva dauhrdat (Bālabhārata)
Ambālīkām athābhyāgat rsm drṣtvā ca sāpi tam
vīṣannā pāndusanākāsā samapadyata bhārata*

Mbh 1 100 15

Again Satyavatī invoked Vyāsa and seeing him with fear Ambīkā made her friend and maid who was charmingly adorned with ornaments enjoy him²⁸ This is also in agreement both with the Bālabhārata and the Mahābhārata

*vidagdhanaiṣṭhyavatī tadantīkām yayau (Bālabhārata)
tataḥ svair bhūṣanair dāśīm bhūṣayitvāpsaropamām
presayāmāsa Kṛṣṇāya tatah kṣāṣipateh sutā*

Mbh 1 100 23

²⁷ *kumāram utpādaja tatra tādṛśam
iṣṣyate bhūṣalayam bhujena yah (Bālabhārata)*

Contrast these lines with the following in the Mbh
*jñātaśamāsasya gopīāram piṭṛgām śamāsardhanam
dāṣṭyam kṛṇuśamāṅga rājanam dātum arhasi "*

Mbh 1 100 12

²⁸ *pūṇalampertūl maroruttīyappūvaṇa yaṇavittāl
stanza 18 Sambhavaṅga line 4*

In a similar manner the Tamil work²⁹ follows both the *Bīlabhārata*³⁰ and the *Mahābhārata*,³¹ in stating that the servant-woman captured the sage's heart and he being thus charmed enjoyed her.

But in stanza 20 we meet once again with another significant departure both from the *Bīlabhārata* and from the *Mahābhārata*. According to the Tamil work, Vyāsa comes to Satyavatī and tells her that the servant-maid on account of her previous penance and on account of the boons she had obtained from the gods, was blessed to be the mother of Dharma, who will be called Vidura, proficient in fierce battle. In the *Balabhārata* we are merely told that Yama who was a victim of a curse from the sage Animāndavya³² would be born as Vidura to the servant-maid. (This was what Vyāsa told Satyavatī). In the *Mahābhārata*, Vyāsa merely informs Satyavatī of the conception by the servant-maid and disappears.³³ It is Vaiśampāyana who in his narration to Janamejaya, alludes to the curse by Ānimāndavya in detail

sa jajñe Viduro nāma.....
dharmo Vidurarūpena śāpāt tasya mahātmanah
Māndavyasya.....

Mbh. 1.100.27-28

and

śūdrayonāv ato Dharma mānusah sambhaviṣyasi

Mbh. 1.101.25 c d.

²⁹ Stanza 19, *Sambhavasarga*.

³⁰ 'As the deer is charmed by music so was the great sage who had conquered the five senses charmed by the servant maid' *Bīlabhārata*

³¹ *kāmopabhogena tu sah tasyām tuṣṭum aśūd १३४*
tayā sahoṣito rāṭram maharṣiḥ prīyamāyayā

Mbh 1.100.25

³² D₄n₃, S (except G₆ M₅) and D₄ have Ānimāndavya, while other manuscripts have different names for the sage as given hereunder —*Apīmāṇḍavya*, *Ānimāṇḍavya*, *Apīmāṇḍavya* and *Śrīmāṇḍavya* (See notes on 1.101.24-25)

³³ *sa dharmasyānṛṇa bhūtvā punarmātrā sametya ca*
tasya garbham samāvedya tatratāntaradhīyata.

Mbh 1.100.29.

According to the Tamil work ³⁴ Dhṛtarāstra was coronated as the king and Pāṇdu as Senāpati. By *argumentum ex silentio* we might say here that Dhṛtarāstra was ruling as the king according to Villiputtūrār. What we are told in the southern versions of the Mahābhārata is that though Dhṛtarāstra was crowned as king, Pāṇdu was the actual ruler.

Bhīṣmena rājā kauravyo Dhṛtarāstronhiṣecitah

.....

*Dhṛtarāstras tv acakṣustvād rājyam na pratyapadyata
avaratvāc ca Vidurah Pāṇdus cāsin mahīpatiḥ*

Lines 2-8, No. 1106,* Critical notes on 1.102.15

Prthā served the sage Durvāsas for twelve months with a single-minded devotion giving up all her youthful pleasures.³⁵ Whatever the sages asked her to do, no matter how difficult the tasks were, she carried out till his commands.

. Yātiyāturai ceytāṇ (stanza 28, line 2)

..... eṇatēva

lariteṇātu nīyiyattinai.. ..

stanza 29 lines 1 and 2.

Cf. *sah yadyad ājñāpayati sma duṣkaram* (Bālabhāratam)
and *dadhyājyaḥkādibhir nityam vyañjanaiḥ pratyaham śubhā
sahasrasaṅkhyair yogīndram samupācarad uttamā*

Mbh. 1.1114*, 1-2.

Prthā invoked Sūrya, but when he came she asked him not to touch her. Sūrya got angry and vehemently asked her why in that case she had invoked him and what might not they suffer who had taught her the mantra of invocation.³⁶

Cf. *karomi yāvat tava mantradāyinaṁ
madhyāśāporagavetsitam munim* (Bālabhāratam).
and *yady evam manyase bhūru kim āhwayasi Bhāṣkaram
yadi mām avajānāsi rsiḥ sa na bhaviṣyati
mantradānena yasya tvam avalepena darpiṣā*

³⁴ Stanza 22, Sambhavasarga.

³⁵ Stanzas 27, 28, 29 and 30, Sambhavasarga.

³⁶ Stanzas, 31-34, Sambhavasarga.

Lines 12-14, Appendix I, No 59, Critical Edition of Mbh

Sūrya further says that she need not fear the wrath of her parents³⁷ implying thereby that she would become a virgin again after yielding to him

Cf. *ṣanyakābhāvam imam ca (na) hāsyasi* (Bālabhāratam)
and *vyapayātu bhayam te'dya kumāram prasamukṣyase*
mayā tvam cāpyanuṣṇātā punah ṣanyā bhaviṣyasi

Lines 18 and 19, Appendix I, No 59, Mbh

Kuntī then yielded to Sūrya and becoming beautiful like deluge-flames brought forth a boy³⁸ who was matchless and who could give such gifts that even gods like Indra might beg of him, just as the ocean brought forth Cintāmanī

Cf *anupravesād oyam ātmatejasah*
śikhām uvāgner adhiko'jjalākr̥tum
.
athepsitārthapratipādanārhatām
upeyuvāmsam surabhartur arthmah
asūta cintāmanim ūdhatejasam
samudraveleva nrpātmajā sutam (Bālabhārata³⁹)

Now Prthā again attaining to her former virginhood seeing her child who was worthy of her love with *kaṇvaca-kundala* embedded with gems, fearing the scandal from persons born of high clan, put him in a box, and closing it, sent it to a full river (stanza 39) In the Balabharata we are told that she had let it in the floods of the Ganges In the Tamil

³⁷ Stanza 35 line 1, Sambhavasarga

³⁸ Stanzas 36 to 38 Sambhavasarga

³⁹ Strictly speaking there are no corresponding verses in the Mahabharata

oṣṭjanat talo varam sarvasāstrabhṛtām varam
āmnuh,taṣavacah śrīmān devagarbhah śrījā vṛtāh
sahajam kaṇvacam bibhrat kuṇḍaladyotitananah
oṣṭyata sutah Kṛṣṇah sarvalokēsu vīṣṇatah

work the name of the river is not mentioned. This is in perfect agreement with the statement made in the *Ādiparvan* of *Mahābhārata*

Cf *surasravantīyām apavādaśankṛtā*
sakhibhir āptābhir asāv amocayat (Bālābhārata)
 and *gūhamānāpacāram tam bandhupakṣabhayāt tada*
utsasarja jale Kuntī tam kumāram salakṣanam

Mbh 1 104 13⁴⁰

In the regular *svayamvara* Kuntī chooses Pāndu (stanzas 44 and 45, *Sambhavasarga*), the king of Madra too of his own accord gave his daughter to Pandu and he married her. In the *Bālābhārata* we are told that Bhīṣma through his prowess in archery, captured Madri and married her to Pāndu. In the *Mahābhārata* it is said that Bhīṣma went and requested Madri's father to give her in marriage to Pandu and the king of Madra consented.

Cf *yātvā Devavratenāpi madrānam putabhedanam*
visrutā trisu lōkeṣu Mādri madrapates sula

Pandorathe parikṛitā dhanena mahatā tadā
vivāham kṛayāmāsa Bhīṣmah pāṇḍor mahātmanah

Mbh 1 105 4, 5

When Pandu was cursed by Kṛindama, he straightway went to the forest to make penance⁴¹. According to the *Mahābhārata* however

⁴⁰ However in the *Āraṇyaka-parvan* in the sub-parvan *Kuṇḍalāsharaṇa-parvan* we are told that the box in which Kargā was placed was first placed in the *Aśvanadi* which took it to the *Carmanvatī* from which it travelled to the *Yamunā* and lastly it reached the *Ganges*.

evam bahuvīdham rājau vilapya karunam Pṛthā
avāṣṭjata manjūṣām aśvanadyās tadā jale

manjūṣa tv aśvanā hṛtaḥ sa yajau Carmanvatīm nadīm
Carmanvatīyāṣca Yamunām tato Gaṅgām jagāma ha

Mbh 3 292 22-25

⁴¹ Stanza 52 *Sambhavasarga*

he wanted to leave his wives and make penance, but being persuaded by them he took them also

Cf *tasmad ekoham ekāham ekaikāsmiṇ vanaśpatau*
caran bhāikṣam munir mundaś carisyamu mahimamām
 Mbh 1 | 107

and 8 —*artham kāmam sukham caiva ratim ca paramātmikam
prataste sarvaṃ uttjya sabhāryah kuruṇṇavah*
Mbh 1.110.38

Vyasa collected the fragments of the foetus that fell out of the womb of Gandhari and grouped them into a hundred and the remaining he put into a jar wishing that it should become a beautiful girl (stanza 72 Sambhavasarga). Possibly here the author of the Tamil work attempts to follow the southern version of the Mahabharata faithfully. But his work being only an epitome he omits such details as Gandhari telling Vyasa with regret that she had no daughter.

yadī nama mamapī syād duhitāṅkā satadhikā
kṛtākṛtyā bhavēyam tāt putradauhitasamvṛta

Appendix I No 63, lines 24 25 Mbh

In the Tamil work⁴ we are not told that Pandu was at first prevented by Madri from approaching her as he remembered the curse. On the contrary she too easily succumbed to his overtures⁴³. In the Balabharata as in the Mahabharata we are told that Madri did not so easily yield to him at the first instance but on the other hand dissuaded him and that Pandu forcibly enjoyed her with the disastrous consequence that followed. Here is therefore another clear instance where the Tamil work departs both from the Balabharata as well as from the Mahabharata.

*tata enam balad rūja nyagrāha rahogatām
varyamānas laya deiyā usphurantiya yatha balam
sa tu kamaparitatmā tam sapam nanvabudhyata
Madrum maithunadharmena gacchamāno balad iva*

Mbh 1 1168-9

⁴ Stanzas 93-102 *Sambhā asarga*

⁴³ Stanza 98 Sambhavasarga

In the Mahābhārata we are told that Mādri dissuaded Kuntī from entering the funeral pyre and showed the logic of her position that she alone should enter the fire for it was through enjoying her Pāndu died.

*mām cā'bhigamya kṣīṇa'yam kāmād bharatasattamah
tam ucchindyāmasya kāmam kathan nu yamasādane*

Mbh 1.116.26.

The Balabharāta version is that because on account of her own fault Pāndu died Mādri requested Kuntī to allow her to enter the funeral pyre. But in the Tamil work we meet merely with the simple statement that Mādri enters the funeral pyre only unable to bear separation from her husband.

mulukṣīṇaśarpusālīṇmoympasavītātāl

Stanza 105, line 4, Sambhavasarga

After Mādri's death, Kuntī performed all the funeral rites of her dead husband through her sons and she went to Hastināpuri through the desire of sages like Kāśyapa who were dwelling on the Śataśṛṅga mountains (stanzas 106 and 107, Sambhavasarga). In the Mahābhārata however we are told that the *avabhr̥tha* was performed for Pāndu and the sages took Kuntī and her sons to Nāgasa in order to hand over Pāndu's children to Bhīṣma and Vidura.

*Pādnor avabhr̥tham kṛtvā devakalpā maharṣayah
Pandoh putrān puṣaskṛtya nagaram nāgasāhvayam
..... . gamane cakṛire manah*

Mbh 1.117.1-5ab.

After 4ab T G inserts :

*Dharmam caiva puṣaskṛtya s'reṣṭhām matim akurvata
kuruṣetram itah Kuntīm tām saputrām nayāmahe*

Critical notes on Mbh. 1.117.4.

According to the version in the Mahābhārata possibly only dahanasamskāra was performed in the Śataśṛṅga mountain for it is clearly

stated that Mādri entered the funeral pyre. The other *uttara kriyā* was performed by Dhṛtarāstra and others in Vāraṇa.

*ityuktvā tam citāgnistham Dharmapatnī norarsabhom
madrarājātmojā tūnam anvārahad yaśasvinī*

1.11631 Mbh.

kāmabhogān parityajya śataśrngam ito gataḥ
.....

pitrlokaṁ gataḥ Pāndur itaḥ saptadaśehani

1.117.20 cd—27. Mbh.

*tataḥ kṣottā ca rājā ca Bhīṣmaśca sahabandhubhiḥ
daduh śrāddhom tadā Pāndoh svadhāmrtamayom tadā*
.....

ādāya vivis uḥ paurāḥ puram vāranasāvayam

1.119 1-3 Mbh.

3. Vāranāvata Sarga.

During the course of a play with Duryodhana Bhīma recognises a treachery of his cousin. He sees bees on the waters of the Ganges and recognises the spearheads placed in the river on whose tops alone the bees were seated. So Bhīma jumps where the spears were not installed and escapes.⁴⁴ This story is not found either in the Bālabhārata or in the Mahābhārata. But the other story of Bhīma being bound by a rope of weeds when he was out of his senses on account of poison, and thrown into the Ganges⁴⁵ is found in all the three works. But in the Tamil work we are told that he went to the nether world where he was bitten by serpents and their poison nullified the effects of the poison administered to him previously.⁴⁶ In the Bālabhārata what we are told is that Bhīma reached the nether world unaffected by the spears through the kindness of fate. Similar is the version in the Mahābhārata.⁴⁷ The Tamil work departs from the two in that in this context no reference is made to the spears.

⁴⁴ Stanza 10, Vāranāvatasarga.

⁴⁵ Stanza 12, Vāranāvatasarga.

⁴⁶ Stanzas 13, 14, Vāranāvatasarga.

⁴⁷ Appendix I, No. 73, Critical edition of Mbh.

Vāsuki gives Bhīma nectar from out of ten golden vessels.⁴⁸ In the Mahābhārata we are told similarly that Vāsuki gave Bhīma juice which could give him the strength of thousand elephants.⁴⁹ But in the Mahābhārata it is stated the Vāsuki did so because of the words of the maternal grandfather of Vāsuki and Prthā. In the Tamil work this is not mentioned.⁵⁰ We are merely told that Vāsuki recognised Bhīma as Vāyu's son.

Cf. *āryakeṇa ca dṛṣtas saṁ Prthāyāś cāryakeṇa tu
rasam pibet kumāro'yam tvaṁ prīte mahābalaḥ*
Lines 69-76, Appendix I, No 73, Mbh.

When Bhīma was thus missed all the other four brothers searched for him in forests, in rivers and ponds. It is remarkable that this order of places is the same in the Mahābhārata, the Bālabhārata as well as the Tamil work.

udyānāni vicitrāṇi nadini ca sarāṁsī ca

Appendix I, No 73, Critical notes on line 100, Mbh

kānaneṣu saraṁsīsu sindhusu (Bālabhārata).

.....

.....*kāṇatīyōlaiyenkanun*

tēṭṭiṇar

stanza 20, Vāraṇāvatasaṁgā.

Discussing the birth of Drona, the Tamil work⁵¹ gives Menakā as the name of the woman whom Bharadvāja loved, while according to the Mahābhārata⁵² it is Gṛtācī. Again according to the Tamil work⁵³ Bhīma sent a message to Drona and accordingly he came to Hastināpurī. But the Bālabhārata as well as the Mahābhārata say that only Bhīma desired to invite Drona while the latter himself reached Hastināpurī Drona came with his wife and child. It is to be remarked here that we

⁴⁸ Stanza 15, Vāraṇāvatasaṁgā.

⁴⁹ Lines 80-83, Appendix I No. 73, Mbh

⁵⁰ Stanza 15, Vāraṇāvatasaṁgā.

⁵¹ Stanza 32, Vāraṇāvatasaṁgā.

⁵² I.121.3 Critical edition of Mbh.

⁵³ Stanza 34, Vāraṇāvatasaṁgā.

in such a manner as to pierce all the leaves of a banyan tree. Here too all failed except Arjuna.⁵⁸ In the *Balabharata*, all these anecdotes are not found. But in the *Mahabharata* what we are told is that Drona fell out with his former friend, Drupada and lived in disguise in Hastinapur. Pandavas and the Kauravas who were playing let drop a ring and a ball. They could not extricate these. Drona who was near by, on account of his marvellous skill in archery pulled these toy things out of the well. Both the Pandavas and the Kauravas were struck with wonder at this and fell at his feet and they informed all that had happened to Bhīṣma who thereupon entrusted them to Drona's care and thus he became their teacher. After the training was over Drona placed a bird called *bhāsa* on a tree and asked his disciples successively to aim at this. They were asked one by one as to what they saw before them. Every one of them invariably told their guru that they saw the tree as well as their own teacher in addition to the bird. They were disgraced and Arjuna alone who told Drona that he saw only the head of the bird was commanded to shoot which he did with success. It is clear that here the Tamil work entirely departs from both the *Balabharata* and the *Mahabharata* for here both the incidents are put together and narrated as having happened long after Drona became the teacher of the Pandavas and the Kauravas.⁵⁹

According to the Tamil work Upayaya and Yaya both officiate and perform a rite in consonance with Vedic injunctions for the progeny of Drupada.⁶⁰ Upayaya performing the sacrifice gave the *havis* (oblation) to Drupada's wife, after she became such as not to touch (*tintal aḥiya pin* stanza 86 line 3 *Varanavatasarga*). Upayaya threw the oblation in the fire and in a moment made the son appear. The straight-forward interpretation of the line *tintal aḥiya pin* would be only 'after she became an untouchable'. (Possibly according to the author of this work she was in her menstrual period and therefore only she could not take the oblation). It seems to us straining too much to interpret the line, 'as her not touching the oblation on account of her pride'. Such an interpretation does not seem warranted. The commentator says that such an interpretation is given in consonance with what is found in the

⁵⁸ Stanza 51 *Varanavatasarga*

⁵⁹ I 122 10-40. Addit. onal. lutes No. 1365 and I 123 45-66

⁶⁰ Stanza 85 *Varanavatasarga*. Incidentally it might be remarked that according to the Mbh. Yaya was at the head and Upayaya was the purohita.

Dhṛtarāṣṭra failed in his attempt to make Duryodhana feel the justice of Yudhishthira being installed as prince⁶² On the contrary Dhṛtarāṣṭra's mind itself undergoes a change and he tells Bhīṣma and Vidura of the enmity in the heart of Duryodhana against the Pāṇḍavas He suggests that the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas must be separated⁶³ Both Bhīṣma and Vidura reply that as ever from childhood, the Kauravas were hating the Pandavas, the former who would not listen to any advice should have to be left to themselves⁶⁴ Dhṛtarāṣṭra thereupon called the minister Purocana who could not maintain the balance of justice⁶⁵ Duryodhana and Purocana as well as Dhṛtarāṣṭra⁶⁶ enter into a treacherous consultation and decide to invite the Pāṇḍavas to live in Vāranāvata and accordingly the place Vāranāvata was renovated⁶⁷ Dhṛtarāṣṭra asked the Pāṇḍavas then to go Vāranāvata making Purocana their minister All of them with Kuntī went to Vāranāvata and worshipped Śiva, the presiding deity of the place The Pandavas were ruling there, but a suspicion arose in their minds about Purocana when they saw the lac-palace One of those who were employed in building up this lac-palace came to Bhīma and apprised him of the entire treachery as well as a way of escape Bhīma rewarded him and was on the alert⁶⁸ The treacherous consultation with Purocana as well as an architect informing Bhīma of the whole treachery of the lac-palace are not met with in the Balabhārata Here the Tamil work is more in agreement with the Mahābhārata⁶⁹

4 *Vetrakya Sarga*

After Ghatotkaca was born both Hidimbā and the boy take leave of the Pandus⁷⁰ This is in agreement with the Mahābhārata version where

⁶² Stanzas 100-101 Varanavatasarga

⁶³ Stanzas 103-105 Varanavatasarga

⁶⁴ Stanza 106 Varanavatasarga

⁶⁵ Stanza 107 Varanavatasarga

⁶⁶ In the Mahabharata Dhṛtarāṣṭra is not in the picture See I 132-1-2

⁶⁷ Stanzas 108-111 Varanavatasarga

⁶⁸ Stanzas 112-125 Varanavatasarga

⁶⁹ 1132-135 Critical edition of Mhb

⁷⁰ Stanza 32 Vetrakya sarga

we are told that at the time of Bhīma's marriage with Hidimbā it was agreed that she should leave him after the birth of a son, which agreement she kept up

yāvatkālena bhavati putrasyotpādanam śubhe
tāvatkālam gamisyāmi tvayā saha sumadhyame
 1 1561*, 2-3.

and *samvāsasamaya jīrṇa ity abhāsata tam tatah*
Hidimbā samayam kṛtvā svām gatim pratyapadyata
 Mbh 1 143 36

Pandavas then in the disguise of Brahmins well versed in Vedic lore-reached Vetrakiya. In the Tamil work⁷¹ it is called a town (nagar) as it is in the Bālabhārata. But according to the Mahābhārata they reached the city called Ekaekra and only the place which they occupied in it was called Vetrakiya. The eminent Brahmins of that place vied with each other in welcoming the Pandavas.⁷²

vetrakīyagṛhe rājā nāyam nayam śhāsthitah
anāmayam janasyāśya yena syād adya sūvatam
 Mbh 1 148 9⁷³

We meet with a departure in regard to a minor point in the Tamil work from both the Mahābhārata and the Bālabhārata version. According to the Tamil work, the asura Baka lived in a forest close to Vetrakiya,⁷⁴ while both according to the Bālabhārata and the Mahābhārata Baka lived on the banks of the Jumna

ito gavyūtmātrestī Yamunāgahvare guhā
tasyām ghorah sa vasati nighāmsuh puruṣādakāh
Bako nāma sa nāmnā vai duṣṣātmā rākṣasādhamah
 Mbh 1 1626*, 1-3

⁷¹ Stanza 33 Vetrakiyasarga

⁷² Stanza 34 Vetrakiyasarga

⁷³ We have the following variants for *gṛhe* S K (except K₂) *grāho* N₃ *gṛho*, G 145 *pure*, G3 has *viprakīyagṛha* for *vetrakīyagṛhe*

⁷⁴ Stanza 39, Vetrakiyasarga

According to the Tamil work Nīlāyani became Indrasenā and married Maudgalya, whose mind was fixed on penance and therefore he deserted her. At the time of desertion, much overpowered by her love towards him, Indrasenā asked him as to what she was to do separated from him. He advised her to make penance for Śiva and she followed his advice.⁸⁹ The Mahābhārata also says also at the time of desertion Indrasenā requested Maudgalya to take her too with him. He cursed her thereupon to be born as Drupada's daughter and marry five husbands because she was impeding his penance. Then she made penance for Śiva.

*praśīda bhagovan mahyam na mōm utstro'tum arhosi
avitṛpṣmī brahmarṣe kōmōnōm kāmasevanōt*

Appendix I, No. 100, lines 71-72, Mbh.

*yasmāt tvam mayi niśāṅkō hy avaḥṭavyam prabhāsase
ācarantī topovighnam tasmāc chṣṇu vaco mama
bhaviṣyasi nrloke tvam rājaputri yaśasvinī
pāñcālārājasya sūtā Drupadasya mahātmanah
bhavitāras tu te tatra patayah pañca viśrutāh*

Appendix I, No. 100, lines 75-79, Mbh.

After Śiva made his appearance, Indrasenā bathed in the Ganges and was weeping alone. The tears streaming from her eyes fell into the waters and became transformed into a cluster of beautiful golden lotuses. Indra looked at this wonder and approached her asking her what it was.⁹⁰

Once in Naimiśāranya, the devas were performing a sacrifice. Yama in his *dik'ō*, engrossed in ceremonial rites could not perform his legitimate duties. Hence the earth was overcrowded. Gods like Indra, Candra, Varuṇa and Kubera, fearing much this state of affairs, went to Brahmā, who told them that from out of their semen another person born like Yama, would destroy the overpopulation. These gods were coming from celestial regions to earth and were going towards Naimiśāranya. They saw a golden lotus in the Ganges and marvelled at it. Then Indra approached the girl that was near the lotus and asked her what it was. This is the version in the Mahābhārata.⁹¹

⁸⁹ Stanzas 79-80, Draupadim-laiyṭtasārgā

⁹⁰ Stanza 82, Draupadim laiṭṭasārgā.

⁹¹ Mbh 1.189 1-12

Indra fell down on account of the anger of Śiva and Śiva further took him to a cave and showed him four other Indras with varāyudha in their hands.⁹² According to the Mahābhārata-version also, Śiva warned him not to commit the same fault of indifference and showed him a cave saying "enter here which contains others like you". Indra said, "let me not be like them." Śiva got wild, "since you insulted me on account of your youth enter here!"

*tam abravīd bhagavān ugratejā
maivam punah śakra kṛtṛhaḥ kṛtṛhaṁcit*
Mbh. 1.189.18cd.

*vīrtiya caivāviśa madhyamasya
yatrāsate tvadvīdhāḥ sūryabhāsaḥ*
Mbh. 1.189.19cd

*sa tām abhipreṣya babhūva dukkṛhitāḥ
kaccin nāham bhavitā vaḥ yatheme*
Mbh. 1.189.20

*darīm etām praviśa tvam śatakrato
yan mām bālyād avamamsthāḥ purastāt*
Mbh. 1.189.21cd.

All the former four Indras along with the new one worshipped Śiva who told them that they should become husbands of Indrasenā. Thereupon these gods came to be born on earth.⁹³ In the Mahābhārata also we are told that Śiva told all the five Indras in the caves, "Be born on earth as kings of men on account of your insult to me, and then marry her (Indrasenā) who also will be born as a king's daughter. After expiating your fault through your righteous rule come back again to the celestial regions." All the five Indras then requested him to grant Yama, Vāyu, Indra and Aśvinī-devas as their future fathers. Śiva granted them this boon.

yonim sarve mānūṣīm āviśadhvam
Mbh. 1.189.25 b.

*tām cāpy eṣām yōṣitam lakṣāntām
śriyam bharyām vyadadhān mānuṣeṣu*
Mbh. 1.189.29 cd.

*āgantārah punarevendralokam
svakṛmanā pūrvajitam mahārham*
Mbh. 1.189.26 ab.

⁹² Stanzas 83 and 84, Drupadimāliyajñasarga.

⁹³ Stanza 85, Drupadimāliyajñasarga

There is a significant departure in the Tamil work from both the Bālabhārata as well as the Mahābhārata in the matter of Draupadi's marriage with the Pāndavas. Here alone it is mentioned that she went around the fire each time she wedded the Pāndavas one after the other.⁹⁴ Possibly Villiputtūrār had in mind the line *babhūva kanyaiṇa gate gate 'hani*.⁹⁵

When the Pāndavas were flourishing in Pāncālanagara Dhṛtarāstra held a consultation with his ministers and decided to give the kingdom that was his due to Dharmaputra. The Tamil work departs from both the Mahābhārata and the Bālabhārata in that according to its version only some messengers were sent and not Vidura for inviting Pāndavas to Hastināpuri.⁹⁶

6. *Indraprastha Sarga.*

When the Pāndavas went to the awe-inspiring forest called Khāndavaprastha, Kṛṣṇa was thinking as to how they were to live there. He thought of Indra who immediately came along with Viśvakarma. Indra commanded Viśvakarma to build up a marvellously beautiful city. This command was carried out and the city won the admiration of every one. This is according to the Tamil version (stanzas 8-12, Indraprasthasarga). The Tamil work gives also a description about the city Indraprastha (stanzas 13-26). Such a description is not found in Bālabhārata. Both the Mahābhārata and the Bālabhārata tell us merely that the divine carpenter said to Kṛṣṇa that he had come through the command of Indra who had asked him to build a city for the Pāndavas. Then Viśvakarma built the charming city, named after Indra.⁹⁷ A long description of Indraprastha is found in the Mahābhārata also.⁹⁸ According to the Tamil version the Pāndavas entered the city and

⁹⁴ Stanza 96, Draupadīmārgaśāstra.

⁹⁵ Mbh. 1.190.14 d.

⁹⁶ Stanzas 107, 108, Draupadīmārgaśāstra

Cf. Mbh. 1.195.—1.197.

and *tato jagāma Vīduro Dhṛtarāṣṭrasya śāsanāt
saśāsān Yajñaserasya...*

Mbh. 1.198.7.

⁹⁷ 1.198*.

⁹⁸ Mbh. 1.199.29-49.

Visvakarma showed it to them. The Pāṇḍavas climbed up a gopura and went into raptures over the new city built up for them.⁹⁹ Only a few of the descriptions here are in agreement with those found in the Bālabhārata which has ten ślakas upon Visvakarma showing the beauty of the city to Dharma. All this is not found in the Mahābhārata.

7 Arjunatīrthayātrā Sarga

Arjuna in his *tīrthayātrā* met Ulūpi while he was bathing in the Ganges. He fell in love with her and followed her to the nether world where he married her.¹⁰⁰ In both the Mahābhārata and the Bālabhārata it is mentioned that Ulūpi fell in love with him and took him to her palace in the nether world.

*apaṅkṣto mahabāhur nāgarajasya lānyaya
antarjale maharaja ulūpya kāmāyanaya*

Mbh 1.2.06.13 -

and *rhitva svapitur vesma nito yam Pandu nandanah*
1.2022*

All the places mentioned in the Tamil work which Arjuna visited after bathing in the Yamunā namely, Śeṣagiri, Kañcīpura, Tiruvannamalai, Tirukkōvalūr, Tiruvenneynallur, Tiruvatikai, Tiruvayintirapuram, Citāmbara and Maturai,¹⁰¹ are not found in the Bālabhārata, which merely says that Arjuna went to the land of the Colas in the south, then to Manalūrpura of the Pāṇḍyas, where he met and married Citrāṅgada, afterwards went to Setu and came back and again met Citrāṅgada and left his child with his father-in-law, he reached Gokarnaksetra after visiting a few places in the West. In the Mahābhārata also Arjuna's marriage with Citrāṅgada is mentioned. In the Bālabhārata however we are told that Arjuna married her in the ordinary way and not first by gāndhārva form of marriage,¹⁰² and lived with her for a long time. Arjuna allowing his son to be adopted by the Pāṇḍya king is found in all

⁹⁹ Stanzas 27-37 Indraprasthasarga

¹⁰⁰ Stanza 8 Arjuna's *tīrthayātrā*sarga

¹⁰¹ Stanzas 11-55 Arjuna's *tīrthayātrā*sarga

¹⁰² Stanza 29 Arjuna's *tīrthayātrā*sarga

After Arjuna's identity was known the king of Pāṇḍya rejoiced at the news and gave her to him willingly celebrating the ordinary marriage (stanzas 36-41)

the three works. According to the Mahabhārata Arjuna went to Manalūr, saw Citrangadā and fell in love with her. He went to her father and told him his desire. The king rejoiced at this knowing him to be Arjuna and married his daughter to him with the agreement that the son born to Arjuna through her should be given to Citravahana for adoption.¹⁰³

This happy alliance between the Pandavas and the Pandyas is mentioned not only in the Visnu purāṇa and the Bhagavata purāṇa, but also found mentioned in Naccinārkiṇiyar's commentary on Tolkappiyam, the oldest Tamil work. In the folk-song Alliaracammalai of Puḷaiṇṭippulavar, Citrangadā is the heroine Allī. The old Tamil works speak of Paṇḍyas as Paṇcavar, reminding us of the happy relationship between the two. One of the old Tamil poets, Mutinakaraya, goes to the extent of mentioning that not only this Citravahana Paṇḍya, but also a Cera king, Utiyan by name, took part in the Mahabharata war. In the celebrated Cilappatikāram again we are told that even a Cola king helped the Pandavas. As a matter of fact, the oldest Tamil poets time in and time out laid stress on the Pandava-Paṇḍya alliance. For instance in one of the Tamil poems attributed to Kōṭumana, who is believed to have lived according to the great Naccinārkiṇiyar in the first Sangam period, we find a reference to Dharmaputra.¹⁰⁴ All these show that there was no antagonism or hostility between the north and south of India, in very ancient times.

Before Arjuna reached Gokarna he transformed five crocodiles into divine nymphs, who were suffering from a curse Indra.¹⁰⁵ In the Balabhārata this is not mentioned. So it is clear that Villiputtūrār follows here the original Mahabharata,¹⁰⁶ except in the matter of stating that it was due to Indrasapa (*mitraṇ i enṇūpattūl*) that the divine nymphs were crocodiles. But even this discrepancy can be explained away as the commentator suggests by taking Indra (*mitraṇ*) as Munindra (*munimitraṇ*). Arjuna reached Dvāraka after leaving the sages who followed him in Gokarna and in order to obtain Subhadrā he took up the garb of a Sanyasin.¹⁰⁷ The Balabhārata version is that from Gokarna, Arjuna went to Prabhāsa where he left those who followed him and in order to

¹⁰³ 1.207 13-23 and Nos. 2035* 2036* and 2037* in the critical notes on these stanzas.

¹⁰⁴ Kallu October 1 1943 pp. 37-38.

¹⁰⁵ Stanza 43, Arjunatiraiyātram.

¹⁰⁶ Mib. 1.208 and 1.209.

¹⁰⁷ Stanza 49 Arjunatiraiyātram.

obtain Subhadrā he disguised himself as a Sanyāsin and thought of Kṛṣṇa who came and left Arjuna in Raivatakagiri and reached Dvāraka. The Mahābhārata version is substantially in agreement with this.¹⁰⁸

Subhadrā began to entertain some suspicion in her mind about the Sanyāsin and asked him one day as to what his place was. He thereupon replied that it was Indraprastha. She made enquiries about all the Pandavas excepting Arjuna. Arjuna asked her why she had forgotten him. One of her attendants then replied that Subhadra deliberately omitted Arjuna's name as she was to wed him. This attendant further told him that they had heard that Arjuna had gone on tirthayatra. Now Arjuna revealed his identity.¹⁰⁹ In the Balabhārata as well as the Mahābhārata it is Subhadra herself who asks the Sanyasin where Arjuna was.¹¹⁰

After Arjuna left Dvaraka for Indraprastha with Subhadra, Balarama learns the news and with his entire army as well as the Yadukula kings fights with Arjuna.¹¹¹ According to the Mahābhārata as well as the Balabharata, Balarāma only wanted to fight with Arjuna along with an array of Yādava warriors, but he was appeased by Kṛṣṇa's words.¹¹²

8 *Khāndavadahana Sarga*

When Agni was burning the Khāndava forest, Maya cried aloud "Arjuna! save me." Kṛṣṇa with eyes red and holding up the lustrous Cakrāyudha in his hand showed him mercy.¹¹³ According to the Mahābhārata, Agni did not burn Maya, after Kṛṣṇa himself with Cakrāyudha desisted from killing him since Maya sought protection from Arjuna, which Arjuna promised.¹¹⁴

From an examination of the entire Ādiparva of Villiputtūrār Bharatam in Tamil, which we have given above, it is clear that the work was not

¹⁰⁸ 1210 1-15 ab No 204* 6 and 1210 15 cd

¹⁰⁹ Stanzas 63-68 Arjunat rthayātra sarga

¹¹⁰ Appendix I No 114 lines 117-135

¹¹¹ Stanzas 79-81 Arjunat rthayātra sarga.

¹¹² Mbh 1212 25-213 12

¹¹³ Stanza 74 Khāndavadāhanasarga

¹¹⁴ Mbh 1219 37-40

instances of such direct or indirect borrowings from Sanskrit works can be easily cited. Apart from such borrowings, one might even suspect that many of the themes of certain poetical and prose works might have been directly inspired by Sanskrit writings. Even the present Persian national epic the great SHĀH NĀMA of Firdawsī⁹—the greatest work of its kind in Persian literature—contains legends which appear to bear resemblance to and probably might have derived their inspiration from some of the legends of the *Mahabhārata*. In fact an orientalist has already pointed out the resemblance of certain stories and episodes in the SHĀH NĀMA of FIRDĀWSI with similar episodes in the *Mahabhārata*¹⁰. I have it on reliable authority that the late Parsī scholar Sir Jīwanjī MODI used to compare the episode of 'Bezhan and Manijeh' with the Paurānic episode of 'Usha and Aniruddha' (commonly known as *Usha harana*) in which Aniruddha falls in love with the daughter of Bānasura (Usha) and has adventures similar to those of the young ruffian Bezhan with Afrasiyab's daughter.—¹¹ Be that as it may I am inclined to think that a comparative study of the SHĀH NĀMA the *Mahabhārata* and the *Ramayana* is likely to reveal a number of similarities and resemblances. But however instructive and interesting this study might prove to be it does not unfortunately fall within the scope of the present paper.

The interest which Muslims took in Sanskrit and Indian studies continued but not so vigorously as before, up to the establishment of the Mughal rule in India. During this intervening period the names of Abū Raihān al BIRUNĪ¹² and Amīr KHUSRAW¹³ stand foremost among those who took a keen interest in Sanskrit and Indian studies.

⁹ It is known that Firdaws based his epic on the *Khudāy Nāma*. The latter was translated from the Pahlavi into Arabic see BROWNE *Lit. Hist. of Persia* : 123 where the matter is fully discussed.

¹⁰ I am indebted for this information to my tutor Khan Bahadur Professor Shaikh M. A. I. E. S. (Retd.). But I had already arrived at this inference on my own. What really struck me was not merely the resemblance of a number of episodes but also the similarity in the description of battles to be found both in the *Shah Nama* and the *Mahabharata*.

¹¹ I am indebted for this information (through the courtesy of Khan Bahadur Professor Shaikh) to Khan Sahib J. E. Sanjani B. A. formerly Oriental Translator to the Government of Bombay who is himself a reputed scholar of Sanskrit and Persian.

¹² Abū Raihān al BIRUNĪ's monumental works the *Kutub al Hind* ('India') and the *Atāru l Bāqiyat* ('Chronology of Ancient Nations') are already familiar to students of Indian history in the translations made by Professor Sachau.

¹³ Amīr Khusrāw one of the most important Persian poets and writers of the *Tughluq* period is already well known for his interest in Indian studies. He was born in A. H. 651 and died in 725 A. D. i. e. 1325.

2. The next in importance is Naqīb Khān. In Abu'l-Fadl's *Ā'in-i-Akbarī* among the nobles and courtiers of Akbar's court he is mentioned as number 161. According to the *Ma'āthirū'l-Umarō'* (Vol. iii, p. 815) Naqīb Khān's ancestors belonged to Iran. He came with his father to Akbar's court and received in the twenty-sixth year of that monarch's reign the title of Naqīb Khān, by which he is generally known. He died in Jahāngīr's reign²³.

3. Shaiikh Sulṭān of Thānēsar, also known as Hājī Sulṭān Thānēsari, was engaged on the work of completing and revising the work of translation for four years. We have already stated elsewhere that Naqīb Khān laid the foundation but the work of completing it fell to the lot of Hājī Sulṭān²⁴.

4. The fourth scholar who took part in the work was Mullā Shīrī, a court poet. Besides translating the *Mohābhārata* he was also assigned the work of translating into Persian the *Horibān's* (*Harivamśa Parvan*), "a work which deals with the life and deeds of Shrī Krishna"—He is also the author of a work called *Hazār Shu'ā'* (هزار شعاع), i.e. 'Thousand Rays' in praise of the sun. He was killed in 994-1586.²⁵

Among the many collaborators in the above version of special interest to us is "Bhāwan" (Shaiikh)—a Brahmin from the Deccan who later embraced Islām. Naqīb Khān makes a specific mention of his name among his assistants.²⁶

The second important version of the Persian translation of the *Mahābhārato* is by Abu'l-Fadl's brother, the poet-laureate Abu'l-Faidī.^{26a}

The third version is generally ascribed to Prince Dārā Shukūh, son of the Mug'al Emperor Shāh Jahān. Dārā Shukūh has been rightly considered a 'great thinker' and naturally found food for thought in

²³ *Jahāngīr's Memoirs*, translated into English by BEVERIDGE, 1,264, etc

²⁴ Badā'ūnī, *Op. Cit.*, per text 3 118—also see, *ABORI*, 6, 98

²⁵ *ABORI*, 6 98; Badā'ūnī, *Op. Cit.*, (Lowe's Trans.), 2,362.

²⁶ Rieu, *Op. Cit.*, 57.

^{26a} I have discussed Faidī's version at same length in my paper "A Descriptive Handlist of Arabic, Persian and Hindustani Mss belonging to the Satara Historical Museum etc."—*BDCRI*, 4.—One distinguishing feature of the version is its embellished style, mixed with poetry

mystic lore of all religions, especially sūfī'ism and Indian mysticism. To him we owe a number of translations from Sanskrit works^{26b}. It is a great pity that a number of works generally attributed to him are not extant. Even the MSS of his Persian version of the *Mahābhārata* are extremely rare.

Dārā Shukuh's successor in the field of the translation of the *Mahābhārata* is a poet Badi' u'l-' Asr, commonly called Hājī Rabi' Anjab, Anjab being his penname. He is the author of a 'metrical version' of the *Mahābhārata*. Hājī Rabi' Anjab gave himself out as a native of Andalus (Spain). He came in his childhood to Isfahān, where he spent thirty years, and became a pupil of Murtadā Qulī Baig Zanknah, surnamed Wāla-i-Isfahānī. After long travels he settled in Delhi, where he died upwards of a hundred years old. *Mushaft*, who saw him some months before his death, mentions, among his works, an imitation of the *Khamṣa* of Nizāmī, a *Diwān* of sixty-thousand verses, an extensive work on Imāmī tenets and the above-mentioned 'metrical translation of the eighteen Parvas of the *Mahābhārata*'²⁷.

The fifth and the last among the more or less complete Persian translation of the *Mahābhārata* must be mentioned a very late "poetical version" prepared by Budan Lāl alias Gangā Prashād. A copy in Ms of this versified translation is preserved in the Asafia State Library, Hyderabad Deccan, under History section, No. 1747. It is a pity that I cannot give specimens from this version as I could not get it myself.

Besides these versions of the more or less complete Mahābhārata, there are to be found translations in Persian of a number of separate and independent episodes and Parvas²⁸. I reserve them for treatment later.

^{26b} For the details of which see the Introduction to his *Majma u'l Baḥrained* with translation notes etc. by Prof. Huq (Bibl. India Calcutta 1920) Code Vol. 94 (1943) pp. 75.

²⁷ *Ibid.* 2711. Compare *Hamīshah Bahar Oude Cat.* 118.

²⁸ For instance the *Bhagavat Gītā* the *Haribans* Nal Daman etc.

The establishment of the Mughal rule in India gave a new life and sense to matters Indian. Hitherto the Muslim interest in Sanskrit and Indian studies was predominantly academic, bereft of any political objective. But with the advent of the Mughals matters changed. They not only ruled but also made India their home. As such, a greater understanding of the religions, beliefs, superstitions, history, culture and thought of the inhabitants of India became absolutely necessary for them. Bābur,¹⁴ the first of the Mughal rulers, was himself a keen and careful student of Indian life and thought, and his observations regarding the above matters have got a great value from the point of view of Indian thought. After him his unfortunate son Humāyūn had neither sufficient time nor conducive circumstances to devote to Indian studies. Humāyūn's son, Akbar, devoted the utmost care to the study of other religions, histories and cultures. His attitude towards Sanskrit and Indian religions was of the most commendable type, and it was by his specific orders that a good many important Sanskrit works were undertaken for translation into Persian. The *Mahābhārata* was the most important of these.

Leaving aside the partial Arabic versions of the *Mahābhārata* episodes and legends, about which we have spoken at the commencement of this paper, there have been, so far as I know, at least FIVE more or less complete versions of the work in Persian. Before giving details about the Persian translations of the *Mahābhārata*, I would like to discuss another very important point: "Whether or not the Muslim Scholars, to whose effort these translations owe their existence, themselves knew the Sanskrit language".

According to Mullā 'Abdu'l-Qādir Badā'ūnī, the author of the celebrated *Muntakhabu't-Tawārīkh*¹⁵ and one of the so called translators of the *Mahābhārata*, order for the translation of the above work was given by the Emperor in 990/1582-83. "In the year 990", says Badā'ūnī, "His Majesty assembled some learned Hindūs, and gave them directions to write an explanation of the *Mahābhārata*, and for several nights he himself devoted his attention to explain the meaning to Nakīb Khān, so that the Khān might sketch out the gist in Persian. On a third night the king

¹⁴ Bābur (1526-1530) wrote his *Memoirs* in the Turkish language. It was translated into Persian by 'Abdu'r-Rahīm Khānakhānān, and into English by Dr LEYDEN and Mr. W. ERSKINE.

¹⁵ *Bibl. Indica. Series*, Calcutta. This was translated into English by LOWE.

که کتب معتبره طائیفه برهان مخالف ترجمه کرده آمد تا هر دو در یک مرکب انقاس قدسی حسب احوال الزمانی ارشاد تعب و تمام برآمده حوای حق شوند و بر محاسن و شرف نگذنگر اطلاع یافتند در اصلاح احوال خود مساعی حمل نمایند. اما از هر طایفه جمعی که از احوال عالمان بهره کار پیچیدگان در پیش آمده خود را از اکابر دینی شمرده مقدمات دور از شاهراه داس مستقیم بر تلمیسات و ترویجیات خاطر نشان نموده اند، و این مردان بی سعادت چه از نادانی و چه از بیدانسی به مقصدی اعراض هوا و هوس کتب ادبیل و تصانیف سلف و اقوال حکماء و اعمال مسجده گذشتگان مهمی داشته بطور دیگر و امم نمایند. هرگاه کتب در نفس معارفی واضحی سام فهم خاص پسند ترجمه نهند تا ساده لوحان ساده به حقیقت کار رسیده از مبولات نادانان دانایان بهای نامی بی مقصود حقیقت برند. بهایران حکم عالی شد که کتاب مها بهار که رفوزده ارباب مهارت است، در اکثر اصول و فروع معتقدات بر اهرم هند اشمال دارد و معتبرتر و برگزینتر از آن کتابی درین طایفه نیست، دانایان هر دو طریق و رابدانان هر دو طایفه از روی اعتلاف و اتفاق نکجا بنشینند به معرفت مصنفان ماهر و مشرفان عاقل معارف عامه باب ترجمه نمایند. اما چون متعصمان بی داند بل بهشواتان اهل تقلید هند را بر دین خود عقیده بالاتر از اداره است و مزحرفات معتقدات خود را چه از راه بی تمیزی چه از مهربی انصافی مسره از نقص دانسته راه تقلید بر سر میروند و در ساده لوحان امری حمد خاطر نشان نموده از مطالب تحقیق باز داشته در اعتقادات باطله راسخ می سازند و متعصمان دین احمدی را که بر شرافت مطالب و نفاس علوم آنها اطلاع نیست، این طایفه را صاحب ترهات محض دانسته

بمحدث و اساس افکار این طایفه می نمایند. مدافع علی و ائمه
 علی حده ذات خواص که کلمات میانواو که مٹ و سپس
 اکثر مطالب دین اشغال دارد، معارف روشن ترجمه کرده
 آید. تا متکوان علی افکار خود گرفته از بی اعتدالی باز
 آید و معتدیان ساده لوح از اعتقادات نادره شریک شده مطالب
 حق شوند و تمام الناس مسلمانان، که اوراق کتب آسمانی و
 دینی را نمک مطالب نگردانند و دانش حسود پس بر اوارج
 معتدیان روزگار از طوائف و پندیان و نحو ذلك نه کشیدند،
 بل سحران بزرگان ملت خود را مثل امام دهر صانق (رح) و این
 سرب (رح) تعبدانند، ابتدای آدمیان را بهت هزار سال د
 خطی که ریخته اند و این خطایی علوم و ذوابی فهم، که در
 طوائف عالم مشهور و معروف است، از ذرایع افکار مردم بهت هزار
 می شودند. بعد توان داخل مباحث برآی شده که این کتاب را،
 که منضم علی کیفیت عالم و دلائل است بل بهت فهم جهان و
 جهان، برای بود فهم ترجمه کرده آید تا این گروه بفرمودند
 مقدمه کس از علمند، پس بهت باز آمد و معلوم کردند که
 طوائف علوم و شرافت فهم را بهت سرب بهت نسبت و این
 دواویر دواویر دانش را استانی در این دواویر دواویر انام
 علی الحضورین سلسله مطالب را در تمام ذرایع مثل امام است، به
 مکتب عالم این ذرایع را، که موجب سرب اهل حسود
 است، بر آنها محبوب گردانند تا از کشنده بهت می گردند
 زبان عدل را بهت شده اولاد گرامی را در موصوفت اوصی
 صرف نمایند.

لله الملوک المستع احوال کشنده بر بهت بهت بودند.
 میانواو سرب دانش بهت را در ترجمه این کتاب، که مستطیل بر

حلائل این عالم است، نظری تمام است. بهاء سلی هذا جمعی
 از دانشوران را بدان، که به وفور داناتی و کثرت تدبیر انصاف
 داشت و از نصیب و ساد دور و باصاف و اسدال بر دیک بوده
 اند، جمع شده کتاب مذکور را از روی تأمل و تعمق به عبارات
 واضح و کلمات مانوس رحمة کردند و طوائف انام بمثل تمام بحسنه
 نقل نسیم گرفتند و اطراف و اکناف عالم بودند. کمر مهملات
 درگاه ابوالفضل بن مبارک بن الحضر، که خاک آستان اراد
 بر بارک دارد و سر سر بر سر را مرکب دوام ملازم آستان
 سالی در افسار از چهار سیم آستان سیم سار حقیقت گستر در ملک
 اهل اراد در آمده است، مامور شد که حظ رای آن بر حرم
 بنویسد. بموجب امهال امر سالی در حظ احمد سحابة الوقت رقم کرده
 حاضر رس نمود و محملی از احوال این کتاب بدوان صحتم
 صراحت صاحب با اوایل از او احترسان داده مدعستان در نایب
 مطالب این کتاب را حوسدلی بهشت الحی -

Translation

Since the benevolent mind (of the king) is inherently inclined towards the betterment of the condition of all the groups of mankind everyone irrespective of friendship or enmity relationship or estrangement appears to the far seeing eyes (of the king) equal Insofar as personal investigations have revealed the existence of mutual hatred between Muslims Jews and Hindus to a greater extent and their abhorrence of each other appeared to be more than what could be imagined the subtle conscious mind (of the king) resolved to bring about translations of reliable books of the respective communities in the languages of their opponents, so that both the parties with the blessings from the most perfect person of the time (that is the king) abstain from bitter hostilities and hatred and become seekers of the Truth and being thus informed of the good and bad points of each other, may strive after improving their own condition Similarly, from both these Communities (i.e., Hindu and Muslim), a group of persons—ignorant and mischievous—has come forward and

calls itself religious heads (of its own community) These pretenders have gained complete mastery over the minds of the poor common people by garbing far-fetched ideas in insinuating terms and, by concealing from them their ancient books the moral teachings of their ancient sages, the utterances of the wise, and the records of the good deeds of their forefathers have exhibited the false state of affairs to them When, therefore, the books of the two communities were translated into the common language, which would be easily understood by all, the simple-minded folk, having thus realised the truth and thereby rescued from the clutches of the ignorant ones who show themselves as learned, would be in a position to achieve their goal in life In view of this an order was given by His Majesty for the translation of the *Mahābhārata*, which is the work of the wise sages, containing a clear exposition of the principal and subsidiary beliefs of the Brahmins of India, and more reliable and greater than which there is no work of this community It was ordered that learned people and linguists from both these communities who are distinguished by their impartiality and fairmindedness gather together and render the work in a style that will be easily understood by the people (Another reason for this order was that) short-sighted or rather the fanatical divines of India who are conservative in their religious views and regard their absurd beliefs, partly by indiscretion and partly by their fanaticism to be immune from defects, lead a life of bigotry and orthodoxy and, having misrepresented certain matters to the common people have paralysed them in their absurdities thus preventing them from ascertaining the truth These fanatics, who have no knowledge whatsoever of the noble principles and the advanced learning of those who are associated with the Muslim religion, consider them as simply barbarous and display an extreme hatred for them In view of this also it was desired by the minute loving reason (of the king) that the *Mahābhārata* which is replete with most valuable things connected with religion be translated so that those who display hostility may refrain from doing so and may seek after the truth (Again) the Muslims who have not perused the pages of their heavenly and religious books and have not cast their wonder-seeing eyes on the different histories of the world, especially of the inhabitants of Turkīstan (lit Cathay) and India, or rather have not acquainted themselves with the utterances of the great people of their own community, like Imām Ja'far-i-Sādiq and Ibn-i-'Arabī, have thought the beginning of mankind to have taken place some seven thousand and odd years ago, and these branches of learning and the lofty ideas they regard as the outcome of the (thinking) activity of

these seven thousand people (?) The generous mind (of the king) decided therefore, to bring about a translation of this work as it establishes the more ancient character of the world and its inhabitants, with a view to warning these men to abstain from such absurd beliefs and to show to them that the finest of learning and the noblest of ideas have no secret which is divulged, and that one cannot find an exact beginning of these lustrous pearls Furthermore (it has been observed), minds of human beings, especially those of great monarchs, have great inclination towards history for it is God's world encompassing wisdom that has made most beloved history, which is the means of warning those who care History lays bare, before its readers, incidents of importance from the lives of the ancients with a view to prepare them for such contingencies and to enable them to avail of the good opportunities of life and engage themselves in matters that are a source of divine pleasure It is on account of this character of history that kings more than other people are 'n need of it The king's attention is therefore naturally attracted by this work A group of learned men conversant with the language, who are characterised by abundance of wisdom and religiosity and are away from partiality and prejudice and nearer unto justice and fairness assembled together and translated the above work, after considerable deliberation and contemplation, in clear and familiar words Groups of men, considering it as a blessing had copies taken of the work which they carried far and wide The humblest of the servants of the Court, Abu'l-Fadl bin Mubarak bin al-Khidr was ordered to write a Preface to this translation

' 22

After this Abu'l-Fadl gives a general sketch of the Hindū system of *Cosmogeny and of the contents of the book*

The chief persons who took part in this 'Imperial Version' have been already mentioned above We would nevertheless, give a brief account of them below

1 The most important is certainly the historian Mulla 'Abdu'l Qādir Bada'ūnī, who is already well-known to the students of Indian history²²

²² I have tried to give more or less a fair and free translation of the original Persian

²³ For a detailed account of Bada'ūnī please see ĀZAD M H *Darbar-i Akbarī* Lahore 1939 J J Modi article in the *ABORI* 6 97-98 *Ency of Islam* I etc.

THE ILLUSTRATED EDITION OF THE RAZM NAMA

(Persian Version of the Mahabharata)

At Akbar's Court

By

M A CHAGHATAI

Ever since the establishment of the Abbasid Caliphate in A.D. 749 Muslims have taken interest in Indian classics. To this interest we owe the first Arabic translation of the Mahabharata by Abu Salih b. Shuaib b. Jamil¹ and translations or adaptations of the Mahabharata and other Sanskrit and Hindu works in the succeeding period. But the greatest attempt at the understanding of Hindu culture was made by Akbar as is well known.

Abul-Fazl² says that the Mahabharata which ranks among the ancient books of the Hindus has likewise been translated from Hindi into Persian under the superintendence of Naqib Khan Maulana Abdul Qadir Badayuni⁴ and Shaikh Sultan

¹ Mumtaz Tawarikh wal Qasb ed. by M. Ikush-Shu'ra Bahar, Tehran, 1318, 106-74.

Abul Hasan Ali b. Muhammad al-Halabi, the librarian of the library at Jurja, translated the Arabic version of Abu Salih b. Shuaib into Persian in A.H. 417 A.D. 1026 which was used by the author of the Majma' in A.H. 520 A.D. 1125. Elliot & Dowson, 1100-1.

R. G. Harshe, Arabic Version of the Mahabharata Legend, BDCRI 2311-24.

² Tara Chand, Influence of Islam on Indian Culture, Allahabad, 1936, 214. N. Shah of Bengal got it translated 1325 A.H. and just after it another translation of the same was made in the period of Husain Shah, the successor of Nasir Shah by Khanra Paraschwar.

³ An Akbari, Calcutta, 1872, 1103-5.

⁴ According to Badayuni the translation was undertaken in 990 A.H. Abul-Fazl wrote an introduction to the Persian translation in 995 A.H. and his elder brother, Fazl, turned it into elegant prose and poetical version in 997 A.H. It has been discussed by J. W. J. Jamshed Modiri in his article "King Akbar and the Persian translation of Sanskrit Books," ABORI 483-107. Memoirs of Jahangir (Ed. and Trans. by Rogers and Beveridge) 1264-5.

Thānesarī⁵ The book contains one hundred thousand verses His Majesty calls this ancient history 'Razm Nama' the 'Book of Wars' Mulla Abdul Qadir Badayūnī, one of the collaborators of the Persian version, calls it "a gist or adaptation" and gives an account of this attempt of Akbar in his *Muntakhabu t-Tawarikh*⁶

To understand Hindu culture, Akbar not only got the Mahabhārata translated or adapted in Persian but got it illustrated also by his court-artists It is the aim of this paper to study these illustrations and to show how Akbar sought the inspiration of his entire court in this work

Muslim artists and calligraphists in mutual collaboration began to prepare illuminated Mss of the holy Quran and illustrated editions of literary productions from the 2nd century of Islam⁷ onwards, although religious scruples were a great impediment in the representation of animated figures References to these early Muslim artists and their works are available,⁸ but unfortunately specimens of several of them have been lost through the ravages of time However, the best and the earliest extant specimen of an illuminated manuscript of the Quran is dated A H 427 A D 1036⁹ which can be regarded as a genuine representation of the art of Muslim decoration and illumination The Indian fables of *Bidpai* or the book of Kalila and Dimna¹⁰ is among the

⁵ Badayūnī Mulla Abdul Qadir *Muntakhab t-Tawarikh* 3444

Ibid II text 319 Trans II 186-329

Darbar t Akbari 450 *Ain t Akbari* 105

Katha Sarit Sagara Ind. a. Office Catalogue of Persian manuscripts 1987 and Woolner Commemoration Volume C A Storey *Abd Al Qadir Badayūnī and the Katha Sarit Sagara* 249-50
Badayūnī Trans 2401-2 415-6

Tabaqat t Akbari 2 text 467

Badayūnī 3 (Trans) II 56 173-4

⁶ *Ibid* text 2319-21 Trans by Low 2 329-39

⁷ *Ib.* Nadīm *Kutub t-Fahrist* Cairo 24

⁸ *Ibid*

⁹ Pope Arthur Upham *Survey of Persian Art* Oxford 1939 Plate 926 Decorative page from a Quran written by Abul Qasim Sa'id ibn Ibrahim Alam Ibrahim ibn Salih al Mudhshshib in Jumada I year 427 A H (March 1036) British Museum

¹⁰ Encyclopaedia of Islam under Kalila Wa Dimna

first illustrated books at the court of the Abbasid Caliphs of Baghdad. The earliest extant manuscript of it with miniatures was prepared at Baghdad.¹¹

In India we find traces of indigenous art and literature in ancient frescoe-paintings and on palm leaf manuscripts, but we do not find any trace of miniature-painting patronized by the Muslims before the days of the Mughals.

The introduction of the Mughal school of miniature-painting in India was due to Humayun. What had happened was this :—Only a few years before, a great upheaval had taken place in Persia and Central Asia by the death of Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqarā of Herat in 1506, which meant the end of the Timuride dynasty and all patronage of the learned. The many artists and literati at his court whose masterpieces were the mainstay of the mediæval Persian culture had now to seek refuge elsewhere.¹² Bihzad and a few others were taken over by Isma'il Safawi to Isfahan.¹³ Others sought refuge with Humayun at Kabul before his return to India and were brought by him to India. Two of them Khawaja Abdu's-Samad and Mir Sayyid Ali Tabrizi deserve special mention, for they were mostly responsible for introducing the Indo-Persian style of Painting into India and trained Indian artists on the same line and technique.

Babur and Humayun had very little opportunity in India to look to cultural activities. However, it is certain that Humayun had initiated the idea of illustrating the Romance of Amir Hamza.¹⁴ After his death Akbar began to patronize literary and artistic pursuits and encouraged their development on very scientific lines. For this he utilised the services of the two above-noted Persian artists and established a Department of Painting at his court; according to the *Amir-i-Nisvan*.¹⁵

¹¹ Buchthal Hugo, *Indian Fables in Islamic Art*, the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London, pt. 4, 1941, 317-24.

¹² Latâif Nihā-i-Fakhr of Mulla Ali Sher Nava, *Coma Car Varanasi Library Series*, ed. by Sayyid Abdulla, 1932.

¹³ Chachnatai, M. A. "Ustad Kamal-ud-Din Bihzad" *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, 1922.

¹⁴ *Oriental College Magazine*, M. A. "Ustad Ali Tabrizi" *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Nov. 1925, Feb. 1926.

¹⁵ Eng. Trans. by Bockelmann, p.

Akbar himself used to take a keen interest in art and thus enabled the artists to produce good work, which matched that of Bihzad and other renowned artists of the world. The number of artists was very large, of whom many had already attained fame. The artists worked in one hall engaged in their respective duties. The following books were illustrated by these artists as mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari*.¹⁶

1. The story of Hamza in twelve volumes.
2. The Changez Nama.
3. The Zafar Nama
4. The Akbar Nama.
5. The Razm Nama (Mahābhārata).
- 6 The Rāmāyana
7. The Nal Damant.
8. The Kalīla wa Dīmna
9. The 'Iyār-i-Dānish.

We are, here, mainly concerned with the miniatures of the *Razm Nama*. A list of other illustrated works of this type as found in different collections and not noted in any history is here given¹⁷ because all these were jointly executed by the court-artists, a vast majority of whom must have shared in illustrating the *Razm Nama*.

Abu'l-Fazl has named only seventeen artists in his *Ain-i-Akbari* although there were hundreds of them according to him. Proof of their existence at Akbar's court is also available from their signatures as found on their own master-pieces. The seventeen artists mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari*¹⁸ are :—

- (1) Mir Sayyid Ali of Tabrez. (2) Khawja Abdu's-Samad.
- (3) Jaswanth. (4) Basawan. (5) Kesu. (6) Lal. (7) Mukand.
- (8) Maskin (9) Farrukh, the Qalmaq. (10) Madhu. (11) Jagan
- (12) Mahesh. (13) Khem Karav. (14) Tara. (15) Sanwala. (16) Harbans
- and (17) Ram.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 108

¹⁷ See Appendix A

¹⁸ Eng Trans 108.

The account of the first two artists is given below from the *Ain-i-Akbari* and other sources.

1. Mir Sayyid Ali was a Tabrezi¹⁹. His father Mir Mussawar, a native of Tirmiz, is well-known as a master in the art of painting which he had inherited from his forefathers. In A. H. 956 (A. D. 1549) having reached Kabul, he got into the service of Humayun, who had a great appreciation of his art. He had the title of Nadiru'l-Mulk, which was bestowed upon him by Humayun. He, however, preferred to be known as '*Humayun Shahi*'. He received the favour of Akbar, with whom he continued in service. The author of the *Nafaisu'l-Maathir* writing in A. H. 979 (A. D. 1571) says 'He is busy in the royal library with the illustration of Amir Hamza'.

2. Khwaja Abdu's-Samad²⁰ was a Shirazi. His father Nizamul-Mulk was the wazir of Shah Shuja of Shiraz. Before Humayun left Iran, he went to Tabrez where Abdu's-Samad paid him his respects. He was even at that time known as a painter and calligraphist. He was also called Shirin Qalam (Sweet Pen). Humayun invited him to come to India, and though then unable to accompany him, he followed him in 956 to Kabul and entered his service. Under Akbar, he was a commander of four hundred but low as his mansib was, he had great influence at court.

Abu'l-Fazl²¹ has also given a brief account of Jaswanth and Basawan, whose names very frequently occur on the miniatures of the *Razm Nama*. They apparently belonged to the old stock of Indian artists, already working here on indigenous lines of frescoes as the words of Abu'l-Fazl, quoted below, indicate:—

"Daswanth is the son of a *palki*-bearer. He devoted his whole life to art, and from love of his profession used to draw and paint

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 107; *Nafaisu'l-Maathir* quoted by M. Shafi *vide supra*; Shahid-i-Sadiq of Muhammad Sadiq Ms. British Museum (Egerton 1016) 77

The work of Mir Sayyid Ali's father with the note 'Drawn by Mir Musawwar' is reproduced in the Survey of Persian Art, Pl 90f. Abu'l-Fazl has given (AA P text, 254) his name as Mir Mansur which is not correct. Mir Sayyid Ali made a portrait of his father (in the Louvre, Paris) representing him as he was (i.e. very old) to accompany the latter's petition requesting for permission to retire from service on account of old age, *Miniatures Indiennes du Musée du Louvre*, Paris, 1929, pp. Ivan Stchoukane, 211-2

²⁰ *Badr-yun.* 3310.

²¹ *Ain-i-Akbari*, 108

figures even on the walls. One day, His Majesty saw him, discovered his talents and handed him over to the Khwaja. In a short time, he surpassed other painters. Unfortunately, he became mad and committed suicide. He has left many master-pieces"

In back-grounding, drawing of features, distribution of colours, portrait-painting and several other branches, Baswan excels so much that some critics prefer him to Daswanth.

The Royal copy of the *Razm Nama* contains more miniatures than any other illustrated work of Akbar's period, with the exception of the Romance of Amir Hamza which was prepared in the very early years of Akbar's reign. Other illustrated copies of the *Razm Nama* were ordered by the courtiers of Akbar (some of them have been referred to here) but many of them have not so far come to light. It is certain that all these copies of the *Razm Nama* were prepared by a vast number of artists of Akbar's period.

In view of the above account of the artists and the illustrated works prepared at Akbar's court by them it would be useful to give the names of the artists in alphabetical order²² and references to the works or copies in which their signed miniatures are found.

Fortunately one Ms. (App. B No. I) belonging to the Imperial Library of Akbar is preserved in the Pothi Khana (State Library) of Jaipore State. Dr. Col. H. T. HENDLEY has already published from this unique Ms. 148 miniatures out of 165 in addition to the last page of the colophon with many autographs and seals which is reproduced (Fig. 1) here. He has also written a useful introduction to it dealing with the story of the epic as based on this Persian text.

The colophon described below will help to explain the procedure of the royal library of Akbar especially because of the entries made by the persons in charge of the Library and the seals of other officials holding the portfolio of Libraries. Moreover, all these endorsements which range from Akbar's period down to the period of Shah' Alam A. H. 1118 (A. D. 1707), show that the Ms. had been in constant use at the courts of the Mughal monarchs

²² See Nos. I and H in Appendix A

Though it is not dated, yet the date, which can be inferred from the earliest autographs of librarians in-charge, is the 24th of the month of Ardi Bibisht, 40th regnal year of Akbar 1 e A H 1004 (A D 1595), which means that this royal copy was in existence before being taken in charge of by the librarian

The calligraphist has put his name in two converging lines thus—

بخدمت مريد در چهار مرسوم اخلاص
پای برحای شریف صدالصمد صورت انعام بربروف

completed under the management of Sharif (son of) Abu 's Sarnad who being a disciple in four stages of purity²³ is firm in the Dini Ilahi—(Divine Faith)

Muhammad Sharif, the organiser of this Ms was the son of Khwaja Abdu's-Samad, who in his youth was trained under the eye of Khalifa-i-Ilahi (Akbar) He was a poet having the *nom-de-plume* Fārsī He excelled in calligraphy and painting Further details regarding both Sharif and his father Abdu s-Samad are given below in the account of paintings. Sharif's signature also appears on plates CI and CV of the *Razm Nama* of Jaipore as a collaborator with Bhura and Banwarī Under Jahangir, he was raised to a higher status and received the title of Amīrū'l-Umara, which also appears on one of his miniatures, namely a portrait of Jahangir The Seals read as follows.—

محب علی صدق اکبر شاه 24 1

'Muhibbi Ali, servant of King Akbar'. There were many persons of this name during Akbar's period, but there was one Muhibbi

²³ Abu'l Fazl, *Makātib*, Lucknow, 1893, p 227

Sh Abu'l Fazl has explained these four stages of purity of the Disciples thus Jan (life), Mal (wealth) Namus (dignity) and Dīn (religion) He has dealt with this point in the course of his commentary on the *Adīb-u'l-Muridan* of Shaikh Sharf u-d-din Munyarī Kh. Badr Prof S A K Sarfarāz kindly directed me to this reference and K B Prof M M Shaf directed me to Bodyum 2 304

Tabaqat : Akbari 2512, *Memoirs of Jahangir*, 2145

²⁴ BM OR 1854, 929

الله اکبر۔ بتاریخ ۱۰۰۰ خورداد سنہ ۱۰۰۰ از تحویل حواجر
عذابت الله بتحويل حواجر عسر شد

Allah is Great : On the 1st of Khurdad, year 1st (of Jahangir's reign 1014 A. H. A.D. 1595) Khwaja Daulat³¹ gave it into the custody of Khwaja Abir.

الله اکبر۔ بتاریخ ۲۰ ماه شہرورد الہی سنہ ۷ ہمار ۷
و حوہ تحویل محمد یوسف بتحويل حبیب الله شد

Allah is Great : On 20th Sharwar Ilāhi, year 7th (A.D. 1613). It is transferred from the custody of Muhammad Yusuf,³² to that of Habibullah.

VII ار و حوہ بتحويل حبیب الله بتحويل محمد یوسف شد

Allah is Great : On 19th Azar, year 8 (A.D. 1614) presented for perusal.

VIII بتاریخ ۱۱ ماه آذر الہی سنہ ۱۵ از تحویل ملا صالح
بتحويل ملا لقمان شد

On the 11th of the month of Azar (Ilāhi), year 15th (A.D. 1620) Mullah Salih³³ gave it into the custody of Mulla Luqman.

IX. بتاریخ ۲۱ دی الہی سنہ دیدہ شد

On 21st Dai, year 17th (A.D. 1622) examined.

X. ۳ آذر در سنہ احد عرص دیدہ شد

3rd Azar, year 1st (evidently of the reign of Shah 'Alam 1118 A. H. 1707 A.D.).

³¹ Ba 'ayuni, 2.100, text; 2 97.

³² Badshah Nama of Mulla Abdul Hamid Lahori, 1543

³³ Maathir-i-Rohini, 3 1680

The 'Estimate' or statement of cost of the manuscript noted below is entered at the bottom of the colophon. [This was very kindly deciphered by Khan Bahadur Prof. M. Muhammad Shafi, Panjab University, to whom we are very grateful.].

اللہ اکبر

برآورد

زمرتہ ۴۰۲۴ روپے

تصویرات	(۱) خط عنایت اللہ
۱۶۵ صفحہ	۶۵ — ۹
۳۶۰۲ روپے	۳۲۵ روپے
جلد و اہرہ و دھالی	(۲) کاغذ
۳۲ روپے	۱۴ دستچ
	۲۴ روپے
سونس	(۳) لوح و جدول
نقرۂ فرنگ	۲۷ روپے
۱۳ تولہ ۱۵ ماشہ	
۱۲ روپے	
	۴ پوست آہر
	۱۶۵ فرد

Translation.

Allah is Great

"Estimate"

Total Cost Rupees 4,024

(a) Calligraphy by Inayat Ullah

65—۲

Rs. 325—

Miniature.

165 pages.

Rs. 3,602—

(b) Paper :—

14 Quires?

Rs. 24 —

(c) Opening panel and page-margins

Rs. 27 —

Binding, marble, paper, etc.

Rs. 32 —

Filings (Powder)

European Silver

13 tolas, 15 mashas

Rs. 14 —

(d) Deer Skin

165 pieces.

The writer had the opportunity to come across two other manuscripts of the *Razm Nama* which belong to the reign of Akbar (Appendix B, Nos. 2 and 3). Perhaps they are copies of the same prepared for the nobles of Akbar's court in compliance with his command.³⁴ The first copy made by an illustrious calligraphist Mulla Pir Muhammad³⁵ son of Muhammad Hafiz, bears eighty-four full-page miniatures³⁶ and the other copy (discussed hereafter) is the one in the Baroda State Museum.

Akbar's great enthusiasm for the Mahābhārata does not seem to have come to an end with the preparation of these manuscripts because immediately afterwards Tahir Muhammad 'Imadu'd Din Sabzwari³⁷ prepared an abridgement of this Persian version of the Mahābhārata in 1011 A.H. (A.D. 1602) as mentioned in the introduction (Appendix B, Nos. 13, 4. p. 4, 25.41.64.66). It also contains a Table of contents for all the 18 Parvans. The description of the manuscript (Appendix B No. 35) of the *Razm Nama* as given by the Berlin Library includes the enumeration of the slokas in each parvan which more or less agrees with that noted in the work of Tahir Muhammad. The enumeration of slokas in the 18 parvans according to the two Persian versions of the Epic—original and abridged—side by side with that in the Sanskrit version, in the form of Appendix (B)

³⁴ Badayuni, op cit. 2.319-21

³⁵ Ain i-Akbari, 101

³⁶ Chaghatai, M. A., 'Risala Intikhab,' Chand Qalam

³⁷ Details of the life of Tahir Muhammad are given in his own work *Ris'latu't Taherin*, BM OR 168, OR 1762. fol 188 b Add 8893; *Ath'ru s-Sanadid* of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan Insc No 3 On the Tomb of Amir Khusrau in which the name of Tahir Muhammad is prescribed. Proceedings of the Indian History Congress Thrd Session, Calcutta, Dr Tara Chand's Presidential Address to the Mughal Period Section, 914.

Tahir Muhammad states in the introduction to his abridgment that he has described all these eighteen parvans along with the Harivamśa Parvan (or Khatima divided into eighteen fasls—chapters and Khatima—epilogue).

When we study the Mss. of the Razm Nama in various collections, we come across several differences and variations. Appendix C will help those who wish to make a comparative study of the Persian version. Almost each Ms. varies from the other in some respects. From the dates of their transcription hardly four of these can claim to be of Akbar's period, Nos. 23 and 41 seem to be of Shah Jahan's reign and the rest are almost of the 18th and 19th centuries.

As mentioned above, the Imperial Library Ms. of the Razm Nama, is preserved at Jaipur. It contains 165 full-page miniatures. The writer could not get the opportunity to study the original Ms., therefore the present remarks are based on HENDLEY's edition of 1884. Almost every miniature bears the names of two artists who have worked in collaboration (see Appendix C). They have tried to illustrate almost every prominent aspect of the epic.

The second contemporary Ms. is dated 1014 A.H. (1605 A.D.) (App. C, No. 2). Some years back, we saw this Ms. in the custody of a dealer who very kindly allowed us to study the Ms. and gave photographs of some miniatures. They are gratefully reproduced here (Plates I—9). Eighty-four of these miniatures are signed by the artists (as shown in App. A. 3). The face of every figure is drawn in profile which is characteristic. The figures however do not look defective from an artistic point of view (Plates I, II, IV, VIII, IX).

The third Ms. of a contemporaneous nature is in the Baroda State Museum. It is rather difficult to make sure whether the thirty-one miniatures³³ in the Museum representing the scenes of the Mahābhārata and framed as gallery pictures actually belong to the Persian text of the Razm Nama lying in the Museum. The only clues are the common Naskhi characters and their size. It seems that some

³³ Razm Nama from Akbar's Times 'Indian Art and Letters' 122.90-2. 1938. Dr. Col. Wiener gave some illustrations out of them but he could not trace that 2 vols. of the actual Ms. were already lying in the Museum as no reference is found in his note.

dealer, who had the complete copy sold out the miniatures in different lots to different customers. Fifteen of them are in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, out of which 12 belong to Sir Akbar Hydari's collection. Thirteen are with Maggs. Bros., London,³⁹ and six out of them have been reproduced in their catalogue. Similarly two are with Edward Gladstone, Ltd., London,⁴⁰ and one in the Museum of Boston. The rest may be in some other collections which we do not know. Nearly every miniature is signed by a court artist of Akbar. The Naskhi style of writing and figures in the miniatures are distinct enough to differentiate it from the above two

Some scattered miniatures of the Razm Nama are found in the art gallery of Lahore Central Museum and are perhaps of Jahangir's period. Similarly some miniatures of a very high order are in the possession of Mr. Justice R. B. Becket,⁴¹ I.C.S. They are also of Jahangir's period as they bear the date A. H. 1025 (A.D. 1616) and the signatures of the two artists, Abdulla and Fazl, as shown in the list of artists. It seems that some Mss. of the Razm Nama were either newly prepared in Jahangir's reign or those which were already undertaken by the artists in Akbar's reign were then completed. However, it must be admitted that Jahangir's Memoirs do not refer to any work on the Razm Nama.

Akbar's personal interest in the department of painting is testified⁴² by the miniatures of the Mahābhārata and other works. The two Masters, Mu Sayyid Ali Tabrizi and Kh. Abdus Samad, were appointed to control this department which unfortunately did not retain the same efficiency after Akbar's death, because after him no such departmental collaboration is traceable in the work of the court-artist. This tradition of Mughal art was continued up to Shahjahan's period only. Then came a decline

³⁹ Biblioteca Asiatica, No 452, 1924. item 252, pp 99-100 and six illustrations

⁴⁰ An Illustrated Catalogue of Persian and Indo-Persian Works of Art, 1931, 14, items 43-44

⁴¹ Islamic Culture, Hyderabad Deccan, 1939, 500, Proceedings of the Lahore Art Circle.

⁴² *Vide supra* Abul Fazl's remarks in *Am-i-Akbari*

The system of collaboration and division of work organized by Akbar as gathered from a study of the miniatures, is given below :—

طراحی	Sketching (which was generally done by the chief artist).
چهره کشائی	Drawing the faces or painting of faces.
رنگ آمیزی	Colouring.
مانند نگاری	Taking likeness.
چهره نمائی	Portrait painting or featuring.
عمل	'Work'—a compendious term.

Almost every picture bears two and occasionally three names of artists with the above assignments of work as joint-producers. A few instances are noted below

1. طرح تلسی عمل بندی چهره نمائی مدهو خورد

Sketch by Tulsi, work by Bandi and featuring by Madhu, the younger. [For a description of the same see Lawrence Binyon.]⁴³

2. عمل بشنداس چهره نمائی نانا

Bishandas made the original sketch and Nana painted the faces.⁴⁴

3. طرح تلسی رنگ آمیزی خورد

Tulsi made the outline and Tulsi, the younger, coloured the rest.⁴⁵

The first Tulsi here must be a different man from the second who is called Tulsi, the younger.

4. Sometimes teacher and pupil used to collaborate with each other. One such study, signed by Bihzad and corrected by his father Khwaja Abdu's-Samad,⁴⁶ is found.

عمل بهزاد اصلاح حواجر عمداصمد

⁴³ Lawrence Binyon, *The Court Painters of the Great Moghuls with Historical Introduction* by T. W. Arnold, London, 1921, Plate IX. The miniature is from the Akbar Nama in which Akbar is shown inspecting the building of the city of Fatehpur Sikri.

⁴⁴ Ibid., Plate IV.

⁴⁵ Razm Nama (Jeypore), Plate 13.

⁴⁶ Darab Nama, B.M. Or. 645, Fol. 11.

The list of artists will further show that Akbar had engaged artists almost from all the chief cultural centres of India such as the Gujarati and Kashmiri centres among others. The artists from Gujarat at Akbar's court had kept up their tradition of contributing something towards the art of painting. As regards Kashmir, as it is just on the border of Central Asia it could easily assimilate the influence of its Persian neighbours and could produce great masters.

In some cases we find that artists having special qualifications for the work of embellishing and decorating the margins of the large size miniatures were appointed by Jahangir. Such a study (App A No 24) is found signed by Harif and one Mulla Muhammad Amin who was in the service of Abdur Rahim Khan Khana for decorating margins⁴⁷ while the original paintings were done by different artists.

Some new artists who came to Jahangir's court from Persia were honoured by him and given special titles for their eminence in the art of painting such as Naduul Asar for Mansur and Nadir u Zaman for Abul-Hasan titles which were not current in the days of Akbar. These artists collaborated with the old artists of Akbar's court. Therefore some artists of Jahangir and Shahajahan's period are also included in the list (App A). Jahangir through these artists got special albums of miniatures prepared. Bishendans, one of the old painters of Akbar's reign who held a position of great honour at Jahangir's court was specially deputed by him to accompany Khan i Alam to Iran to have the portrait of Shah Abbas⁴⁸ of Persia. Mansur evidently started his career under Akbar as one study of his in collaboration with the great master Basawan is found in Akbar Nama at the Victoria Albert Museum (App A No 15) and became a great artist under Jahangir who honoured him with the title of Nadirul Asr.

The list of artists appended here shows us that some signatures from the illustrations of the Razm Nama are confusing. Sometimes the diminutives only by which these artists were better known sometimes only a part of their names and sometimes their titles (if they

⁴⁷ Maath i Rahim 3 1673

⁴⁸ Tuzi Jahangir Algarh p 253

had any) are given. Sir R. Arnold⁴⁹ has very ably studied this important question regarding :—Kesu, Ram, Tara, Riza, Khem, Farrukh, Madu, Bhura, Shankar, Qabul etc. They all appear in this list in their different forms. The following is cited here by way of illustration :—

Kesu (Kalan), the elder	} All these are shown in list No. 2.
Kesu (Khurd), the younger ..	..	..
Kesu Das ..	..	..
Kesu Gujarati ..	..	..
Kesu Kahar—a palki-bearer ..	..	..
Kesu (only) ..	..	..

It is here a problem as to whether they all refer to only one or many persons.

Miskin,⁵⁰ an artist, working on the Razm Nama generally signs his pictures as Miskinā. Sir T. Arnold understands from it that the termination ā shows that he was a man of low status. I, however, think that in its form it is just like the nom-de-plume of a poet with the termination ā. There are other artists such as Paras, Hari, Jaswanth, Mahesh etc. who sometimes sign as Parsā, Haria, Jaswanthā, Maheshā.

Mir Sayyid Ali Tabrazi's signature is found on two pictures of the Razm Nama (Appendix C, No. 2). One of them is reproduced here. But according to the account quoted above from the Nafasu'l-Matthir,⁵¹ he had taken leave for pilgrimage to Mecca between A.H. 972-979. But no contemporary authority testifies to such a pilgrimage. As miniatures bearing his signature appear on a Ms. which is dated A.H. 1014, his work on it must have begun earlier.

The signature of Mirak⁵² is found on one of the miniatures (App. A, No. 3). In the history of Persian miniature-painting one 'Mirak' enjoys a great reputation. There were many artists known by this name or diminutive in Persia but not many in India. Two of them are worthy of mention here. One was the teacher of the great Bihzad, and the other was one of his pupils. In India we have been

⁴⁹ The Library of A Chester Beatty & Catalogue of Indian Miniatures by Sir Thomas Arnold, Revised and edited by J. V. S. Wilkinson, London, 1936, 3 vol. p. 221.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ *Ibid.* supra, Fn.

⁵² Chaghatai, M. A. Bihzad, *vide* footnote.

able to trace one Miraka Musawwar, who was also a mystic. Like others he had added this name as an alias to his full name Muhammad Afzal (Muzahhib gilder of Samarquand)⁵³

Bihzad's name⁵⁴ appears on one of the plates of Smith's History of Fine Arts of India which shows that the work is done by Bihzad and corrected by Khwaja Abdu's Samad. The latter had two sons viz Khwaja Muhmad Sharif and Kh Bihzad. As noted above it was under the supervision of Khwaja Sharif that Akbar's copy of the Ms of the Razm Nama was prepared and he also painted some of its miniatures. The second Bihzad who was still young was apparently learning the art of painting from his father as is manifest from the work referred to here.

The signatures of the following artists sometimes appear with the express mention of their fathers or other relations who were also artists. It shows that their art was hereditary.

Gowardhan⁵⁵ the son of Bhawan Das

Manohar⁵⁶ the son of Basawan

Nand⁵⁷ the son of Ram Das

Ali⁵⁸ the son of Mukhlis

⁵³ Colophon of a Ms of the Kashful Mahjub in the State Library of Hyderabad Deccan (Persian Mysticism No 398) bears a long statement by him.

⁵⁴ Smith V A A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon Oxford 1911 p 423 Abdul Muqrad Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Mss in the Oriental Public Library at Nakipore Patna 1921 pp 40-8. The Description of one unique Ms of the Tarikh-Khandan Timuriyah which is illustrated at Akbar's court by his court artists. It contains one plate No 38 by Bihzad.

⁵⁵ A Chester Beatty op cit XII?

⁵⁶ The colophon of a Ms of the Gulistan of Sadi in the Royal Asiatic Society No 258 bears a miniature in which one artist's portraying portrait of one savant sitting before him as a model. The piece of paper in the hand of the artist bears work of Manohar son of Baswan and the learned man who is sitting in front of him also holds a paper on which it is written.

Portrait of Husan Zarni Raqu. This Ms is calligraphed by Muhammad Husan al Kashmiri during the year 990 at the city of Fatehpur.

⁵⁷ Akbar Nama Victoria Albert Museum No 64

⁵⁸ Tarikh Timuriyah vide fn plate 51

The love of learning among the priestly class of Indians their dress and their mode of delivering and listening to sermons is obvious from the first and second plates These people live like hermits in their huts in jungles Reverence for religious teachers is shown by giving them higher seats than to their disciples

Men and women wear their finest dresses on the occasion of marriage ceremonies and court-functions, and wear ornaments studded with jewels and pearls to keep up the traditions and dignity of their families Every figure in Pl III which depicts a *svayamvara* ceremony going on inside the enclosure is found wearing a necklace and a fine dress Following the Mughal court etiquette they use patka and kamarband or girdle Processions which form a common feature of all ceremonies and preparations for which are shown as going on outside the enclosure include elephants and horses gorgeously decorated with ornaments and harnesses with their bridles held by their attendants in their own respective colours The trumpeters who are in the forefront of the procession to proclaim victory or royal rejoicings are shown on the top of the miniature The processions terminate with some sort of feast or refreshments (which is described elsewhere from Plate 88 of the Jajpore Razm Nama)

In Plate V we see the use of a palki for carrying the bride a practice of Mughal times, probably adopted by the Hindus during Akbar's time

As regards the pastimes of the princely class of people the artist has shown them playing at Dice in palaces the losers being indicated below

The battle is illustrated by Plates VI VII IX Horses elephants bahalis and Rathes or chariots appear as the chief means of war transport The chariots have four wheels and the Bahalis only two At the time of the fight only the warrior and his driver occupy the Rath with a view (it seems) to avoid disturbance in the course of the action The rank of the warriors is seen from their respective standards in battle array

As regards arms the arrows and bows were the chief weapons of those days when the enemy was fought at a distance The finest specimens of arrows are shown in Plate III, by the side of Arjuna during the *Svayamvara* Princes were specially trained in archery Many other

The Miniatures of the Razm Nama from the point of view of Art.—Unlike Western art, the oriental art of painting bears only two dimensions, and therefore raises many problems: such as the faithful expression of the artists' imagination on the surface of the paper; the depicting of the many sides of his imagination on one miniature as an independent chapter or section of the work undertaken; and the dominant presentation of central theme. In spite of these limitations we find that every picture of the Razm Nama is like a chapter of the Mahābhārata, as far as the central idea is concerned. It is often alleged that Oriental artists, particularly those of India, are incapable of keeping in view the principles of perspective and this mars the real value of the picture from an artistic point of view. But when we carefully study the miniatures of the Razm Nama, we find them quite up to the standard, although they may not appeal to modern artists. The artist covers as many aspects of one theme in one picture as he can visualise in his imagination. For instance, plate 88 in which "Yudhishthira, Krishna and Pandavas hold a great feast at Hastinapur before the horse is set at liberty", is the joint work of Daswanth and Bhura. It was natural for the artists to keep in view the Mughal palaces and their celebrations of such royal banquets. The artists first give the outside wall of the palace with a gate through which the guests have to enter. After it the interior of the palace begins where the guests assemble and the adjoining left-end of the palace is reserved for the cooks who are seriously busy in preparing the dishes. Just beyond it, table-covers are arranged whereon guests are dining in rows, just as the Musalmans do. The upper apartment on the left side of the palace are full of women having their separate dining arrangement. It is interesting to note here that guests of the two sexes are being served separately by waiters of the appropriate sex. There is the grandeur of the palace with all its architectural beauty. It will be obvious thus that the artists have covered many aspects in one miniature successfully from the perspective point of view. The same can be seen in the miniatures reproduced here. In Europe only of late one variety of perspective named "Isometric Projection" covers many aspects of the objects to be drawn. The features of the faces and the expressions of our figures also are worthy of study.

Prototypes of these Miniatures.—A casual glance at the miniatures of the Razm Nama may lead to the idea that they belong to some illustrated edition of the Shahnama of Firdousi but a little

observation reveals that they belong to some Indian epic. Here we reproduce only two miniatures, one from the Razm Nama (Plate VIIa) and the other from the Memoirs of Babur at the Bodleian, Oxford (Fig. 2). The latter represents the rejoicings at the birth of Humayun and is drawn by some Persian artist and the former depicts the scene of the Mahābhārata in which Bhikam (Bhīsmā) is shown at the court and Gāndhārī, the mother of Duryodhana is addressing him. It is signed by Mir Sayyid Ali Tabrazi. If both these miniatures are studied side by side, they appear to be either the work of one artist or the Indian artist has followed the former, as far as the sketching and planning of the theme are concerned. The Indian artist has not successfully put on Indian attires on his figures and the influence of Mughal court-life and atmosphere is obvious. In some cases the architectural details of the building look so realistic as to reproduce the atmosphere of some Mughal monument.

The following were the symbols on the banner of some of the great chiefs⁶².

Bhima	—	A Standard with a lion on the top.
Arjuna	—	A Standard with an ape, the Hanuman.
Duryodhana	—	An elephant.
Karna	—	
Kripa	—	A bull.
Vrishasena	—	A peacock.
Madra	—	Silā.
Jarasandha	—	A bear.
Somadatta	—	The moon.
Pradyumna	—	A Crab.

Finally, we find that the Persian version of the Mahābhārata, prepared at the instance of Akbar enabled the masses to study this epic as a book of general interest. Later on other scholars tried to convert it into elegant prose or verse. One of them Hajji Rabi Anjab's is worthy of mention.⁶³ He was a native of Spain and came to India through Iran

⁶² Hendley, Introduction to the Razm Nama

⁶³ BM. Egerton, 1036, p. 711

after staying there for about thirty years, and made a metrical translation of the eighteen parvas of the Mahābhārata.

Apart from it, this Persian version of the Mahābhārata has been used as a source of history by historians for their accounts of ancient India, especially by those who could not utilise the original Sanskrit sources. Among these, Muhammad Qasim Firishta comes first who says in the introduction to his history⁶⁴ that he used the Persian translation of the Mahābhārata made by Akbar's command, as his source for an account of the Hindus and of ancient India. Similarly Sujan Rai did the same in his *Khulasatu'l-Tawarikh*.⁶⁵ Thus, Akbar's interest of Hindu classics gave a great impetus to the study of pure Hindu culture, through the medium of these Persian versions

⁶⁴ (Bombay Edition) Vol. I, p. 6. Briggs's trans., Vol. I, LIII-LIV.

⁶⁵ Ed. by Zafar Hasan, Delhi, 1918, p. 4

- 11 *Babur Nama*, Albert Museum (SK) London
- 12 *Darab Nama*, Ms B M or 4615
- 13 *Khamsa-i-Nizami*, Dyon Perrings Collection, Paris
- 14 *Baharistan* (Jami), Ms , Bodleian Library, Oxford Elliot, 254
- 15 *Akbar Nama* (only Miniatures), Victoria Albert Museum (SK) London
- 16 *Akbar Nama*, A Chester Beatty's Collection, London
- 17 *Shah Nama*, Ms B M Add 5600
- 18 *Ayyār-i-Dānish*, Ms A Chester Beatty s Collection London
- 19 *Yagavastisa*, Ms A Chester Beatty s Collection, London
- 20 *Ajātib ul Maḥluqat*, Ms A Chester Beatty s Collection, London
- 21 *Diwan-i-Hafiz*, Ms Ram Pur, State Library
- 22 *Anwar-i-Suhaili*, Ms B M Add 18579
- 23 *Indian Drawmgs in the Victoria and Albert Museums* (SK), London, by C Stanley CLARK, 1922
- 24 *Shah Jahan s Album* A Chester Beatty's Collection, London
- 25 Miscellaneous

Scattered miniatures found in the following collections with signatures of artists are arranged as below —

- A J India Office Library, Johnson Collection which contains 67 books
- B Bodleian Library, Oxford
- C Marteau et Vaver, Miniature Persanes, Paris
- D Ghose, Ajit, Collection, Calcutta, Islamic Culture Hyderabad 1934, pp
- E Bhagavata-Purana (BORI) Code P K An Illustrated Ms copied in AD 1648 New Indian Antiquary, July, 1938
- F Shah Nama Windsor Castle referred to By Sir Arnold

G The Yasudah, (Hindi Monthly) July 1928

H Miniature Painting and Painters of Persian India and Turkey
by F R Martin London 1912

I The Collection of Bahadar Singh Singhi, Calcutta

The Artists marked thus * are also mentioned in the following
texts —

(a) Āin i-Akbarī, v I, p 108, (Tr B1)

(b) Maathir i Rahimī, v iii pp 1681-88

(c) Memoirs of Jahangir (Tr by Bev & Rogers) v I, 248

Name

Name

*Abdul Hamid	
Abdul Karim	24
Abdullah	6 10
Abdus Salim	13 22
Abdus Samad Sayyid	
Abid Nadiru z Zaman	C pl 229
Mashhadu	
*Abul Hasan	22 24
Ahmad	16
Ahmad Kashmiri	4
Alam	23
Ali S Mukhlis	8
Amirul Umara	B Douce or a 1
Anand	18
Anant	8 16 18 23
Amin Chand	24
Anis	2
Anis Chela	2
Anup	
Anup Chater	A j 15 64
Anup Chater Singh	
*Āqa Riza	22
Āqa Sahibu z Zaman	23
Asi	8 15 18
Babu	2
Babū Naqqash	16
Babū Ustad	14
Bahan باهي	4 5
Balchand	14 23 24
Band	15

Bandi Kalan	18
Barwala Kalan	15
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Bulaqi s Ghulam Ali	5
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D I Chand	A 1 58	Hari	22
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Deoji (Dev)		Hunhar	24
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Dhanum	8	Ibr him Kahar	5 10 12 15
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Kank Singh کنگ سنگھ	13	Makar	4 18
Karam Chand	12	Makra	10
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Kashmir Dass La ⁶	16	Manah (Manh) منہ	8
Kashmiri (2)	8	Mani می	2
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Kesu Das	2	Mehr Chand	9
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Khem Khurd	18	*Mison Nad m	
Khemman	4	M rak	3
Khemman Sangtrash	8 15	Mir Hasan	10
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*Khem Koran	2 3 10	Mir Muhammad	9 A J 9 5
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*Khwaya Abdus Samad	1 14	Miskin Muhammad	A J 21 58
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*La ⁶	2 8 14 15	Muhammad Ab d	9
La ⁶ Chand	24	Muhammad Afzal	
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Madho Gujarati	4 14	Muhammad Riza	22
Madho Kalan	2 9 12 15	Muhammad Sharif	2
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Mahesha (?)	2		14 15
Mahesh (s) Narayan	2	Mukhlis Ali	8

Name.

Name.

Mul Chand	.. A. J. 21.	*Ram	.. 2, 9.
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Munir (P)	.. 2.	Rao Gobind Singh	.. 9, A. J. 1.
*Mushfiq	Raziullah	.. B. Douce or # 3.
Nadir Baland Iqbal	.. 9.	Sidiq	.. 5.
Nadir Khan	.. A. J. 58.	Sahifa Binu	.. 25.
Nadir Muhammad	.. 9.	Sahu	.. 8.
Nadiru ⁶ z-Zaman	.. B. Douce Or 1; A. J. 67.	Saun Das	.. 14.
Nainan	.. 9.	Salman
Nama	.. 18.	Salim Quli	.. 22.
Naman	.. 8.	Sahivahana	.. 3.
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Nand	.. 18	Sank (Sang or Sing) سنک	.. 8
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Nand S. Ram Das	.. 14.	Sankran	.. 2
Nandi S. Ram Das	.. 15.	Sanku سنکو	.. 8.
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Naqqash	.. 8.	Sarwan	.. 8.
Narayan	.. 2, 4, 8, 10, 12, 15.	Sewan Namt	.. 15.
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Paras Kahar	.. 12.	Sharil	.. 2.
Parsa	.. 2.	Sheru S. Nahir	.. 5.
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Pir Muhammad	.. A. J. 58.	Shimil	.. 17.
Qabil	.. 4.	Shiv Das	.. 10, 12, 14, 17.
Qabul Ahmad	.. 15.	Shiv Das Namt	.. 14.
Qabul Chela	.. 15.	Shiv Raj Gujarati	.. 18.
Qasim	.. 17.	Simah Khan	.. 9.
Rahmān Quli	.. 22.	Singha سنکھا (Shanka)	.. 7.
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Raj Chatarman	.. A. J. 24, 50, 20.	Sukh Jiwan	.. 2.
Raj Fath Chand	.. A. J. 7.	Suleyman Kalan	.. 14.
Raj Jhat Mal	.. A. J. 22.	Sur (Sura)	.. 9.
Raj Utam Chand	.. A. J. 21.	Sur Das	.. 15, 16, 18.
Raja Manohar Singh	.. A. J. 4.	Sur Das S. Ishar	.. 7, 10.
		Sur Gujarati	.. 9, 10.
		Suraj	.. 8.

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Surjiv Gujarati	. 8, 18	Thirpi (Tirpal)	.. 2, 10 18.
Sur Sing	.. 16	Tiriyā	.. 10, 12, 18, 19.
Taluk	.. 10, 12	Tulsi	2, 8, 12, 15,
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Tara Chand	.. 12	Tulsi Khurd	.. 10, 15
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Tek Chand	.. A J, 1	Ya ⁶ qub Kashmiri	. 11,

APPENDIX B

The Index of the Persian Version

No.	Sanskrit Names of Parvans with number of Slokas*	Persian Names of Parvans (پرب) with number of Slokas		Contents : According to the abridgement of Tahir Muhammad.
		Berlin Ms.	Abrid.	
1	Adi Parva 8,884	Ad 8,884	آد 8,884	Account of the Karus and Pandavas.
2	Sabha Parva 2,511	Sabha 2,511	سبها 2,511	Jadthal's (Yudhisthira) sending his brothers in the various directions of the world for conquest ; Performance of Rajasuya ; Arranging an assembly of gambling
3	Vana Parva 11,664	Bon 11,360	آرن 11,364	Pandavas going into the jungle where they remained for 12 years and Account of the incidents that took place in the meantime.
4	Virata Parva 2,050	Barat 2,005	برات 2,050	The return of the Pandavas from the jungle to the city of Barat (Virata) and hide themselves there.

APPENDIX B—contd

No	Sanskrit Names of Parvana with number of Slokas*	Persian Names of Parvans (درب) with number of Slokas			Contents According to the abridgement of Tahir Muhammad
		Berlin Ms	Abnd	Abnd	
9	Salya Parva .	3 220	سال	شال 3 200	Account of Shal and other warriors being hanged 90 persons killed Daryodhan's hiding and his brothers being killed by mace in the battle which lasted for 18 days
10	Sauptika Parva	870	سودت	سالوک 880	Night attack led by Kari Barmha (Krita Varman) Astham (Aevatthaman) Kanya (Kripa) etc on the army of Pandavas had returned safe from the battlefield to the place
11	Stri Parva .	775	استری	استری 775	Weeping of the women of both sides, Gandhari the mother of Daryodhan cursing Krishna
12	Santi Parva	14 725	سانت	سانت 19 374	After the victory Jashhall wanted to renounce the world and its comforts Krishna urges him with convincing

APPENDIX B—concl'd

No	Sanskrit Names of Parvas with number of Slokas*	Paratan Names of Parvas (دروب) with number of Slokas		Contents According to the abridgement of Tahir Muhammad
		Berlin Ms	Abrid	
16	Mausala Parva	320	300	Account of Jadwan (Balaram) and Krishan and dying in miserable circumstances and other incidents
17	Mahaprasathanika	320	360	Jadishwar and his brother's renunciation of the world and entrusting the kingdom to people and their departure to the H malaya or ice hills
18	Swargarohana	207	200	Pandavas resigning the souls to the above mentioned mountain and the physical ascension of Yudishthira to the higher world
19				The account of Jadwan's (Balaramas)

*These numbers are taken from the southern Edit on of the MB which are not generally accepted

Statement showing the contents of Persian Manuscripts of the Razm Nama (Mahabharata) in various Collections
**For miniatures and their artists see Appendix C*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Serial No	Date	A D	Place where exists	Owner	List No	Folios	Dimensions	Line in each page	No of Miniatures*	Script	Name of Scribe	Place where prepared	Remarks
1	G 1004	1595	Jaspore	Pothi Khana					165	Nast	Sharif		Complete
2	1014	1605	Simla	A Dealer			15" X 10"		84	Do	Pir Muhammad son of Muhammad Hahz		Complete in 3 volumes
3	G 1011	1605	Bandra	State Museum		pp 474 pp 877	12" X 7"	27	31	Nastik			1 II, III parvans in two volumes
4	G 1007	1598	Paris	Bibl Nationale	218	733	38" X 23" cm			Nast			Complete

APPENDIX C—*contd*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Serial No	Date A.D.		Place where exists	Owner	List No	Folios	Dimensions	Line in each page	No of Minatures*	Script	Name of Scribe	Place where prepared	Remarks
5	1107	1695	London	British Museum	Add 5641 5642	370 481	11½"×6½"	27	128	Naskhi			Complete gold ruled margins At the end it is stated that it was compiled by Basant Rai son of Kasi Ram, son of Raimae a Kayasth in the service of Shauistah Khan in the 31st year of Aurangzeb's reign i.e. A.H. 1093. It contains complete Index
6	1177	1763	D _o	D _o	Add 5638-40	413 371 440	15½"×9½"	22	68 36 30	Nast	Muhammad Muradabad Khan		Complete in 3 volumes
7	1218-19	1803-4	D _o	D _o	Add 16820	283	19"×18"	29		Shik			Complete in one volume

8	..	1800	D _o	..	D _o	..	Add. 16873	80	10" X 6½"	12	..	Nast	....	..	IV (parvan) It is a different version and much fuller.
9	..	1798	D _o	..	D _o	..	Add. 7036	206	12½" X 7½"	-	..	...	....	....	These are N. B. Halbed's marginal notes on the MB, with some extracts in Persian.
10	1175	1761	D _o	..	D _o	..	Ov 5461	161	9½" X 6"	18	..	Nast	Wainkab	Sambhal ..	XIV (parvan)
11	1214	1876	D _o	..	D _o	..	Ov 1863	20-34	9½" X 6"	18	..	Nast	..	...	Only the story of Raja Janamejaya, from the translation of the MB (Faiz)
12	..	1850	D _o	..	D _o	..	Ov 2014	112-118	10½" X 6½"	15	..	Nast	..	..	Abstract of the III parvan.
13	1150	1724	D _o	..	D _o	..	Ov 2016	26-123	10½" X 7½"	27	..	Shik	..	..	Abridgement of the Persian version of the MB, by Tahir Muhammad B Imdad-ud-Din Sabzwari
14	1245-6	1655-6	D _o	..	D _o	..	Ov 168	467-523	11½" X 8"	21	..	Nast	..	Do.	Do.
15	1221	..	Oct-nd	..	Bookman Library.	..	1306	372, 189, 151, 222	12" X 7½"	19-23	..	Nast, Shik	Sedanand	.. Qasur (Lahore)	Complete in four Volumes. All bear varied dates.

APPENDIX C—contd

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Serial No	Date	AD	Place where exists.	Owner	List No	Folios.	Dimensions.	Lines in each page	No of Manuscripts.	Script	Name of Scribe	Place where prepared.	Remarks
16	1221	1806	Oxford	Bodleian Library	1307	810	10½" x 7½"	23		Nast and Shik	Portap Rai		Complete in 7 vols. All bear varied dates.
17	1173	1759	Do	Do	1308	705	12½" x 8½"	11					I IV, XII XIII-XVIII (parva) in four vols.
18			Do	Do	1309	383	7" x 4"	11-13					I (parva) with preface
19	1139	1726	Do	Do	1310	203	9½" x 5½"	13-17					I (parva)
20			Do	Do	1311	112	9½" x 5½"	13-17					Abu I Faris intro only but different from the usual one
21	1138	1726	Do	Do	1312	173-231	9½" x 5½"	13-17				Ahmad abad	II (parva)

APPENDIX C—contd.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Serial No	Date	A.D.	Place where exists	Owner	Lot No	Folios	Dimensions	Lines in each page	No of Manuscripts	Script	Name of Scribe	Place where prepared	Remarks
48	1155	1742	London	India Office	1931	384	16½ × 5½			Shik			Chapter I VII with preface
49	1140	1728	Do	Do	1932	556	10½ × 6"	17		Nast			I-V (parvans) with preface
50	1150	1737	Do	Do	1933	400	11½ × 6½"	17		Nast and Shik			I IV (parvans) with preface
51			Do	Do	1934	323	15" × 9"	21-31		Nast			A different trans I II (parvans) as No 8
52	1129	1717	Do	Do	1935	275	12½ × 8½	17					I III (parvans) with preface
53			Do	Do	1936	235	13½ × 9½	17					Defective
54	1098	1687	Do	Do	1937	154	13" × 6½"	21-19			Stat Ro		I II (parvans) with preface

APPENDIX C—*concluded*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Serial No.	Date	A.D.	Place where exists	Owner	Last No.	Folio	Dimensions	Line in each page	No. of Vols.	Script	Name of scribe	Place where prepared	Remarks
78	1159 1253	1775- 1837	Rampur	State Library	419	241	10" x 7"	1-17	1	Nast	Khas Rajwara of Rampur Lal Raj		VII XI (parva)
79	1278	1868	D ₃	D ₃	421	39	9 1/2" x 7 1/2"	21			Citara Ram	D ₃	XIII (parvan)
80			D ₃	D ₃	420	297	9 1/2" x 6"	15					I XII (parvan)
81			D ₃	D ₃	422	230	9 1/2" x 6"	15					I XIII (parvans)
82		18th Cent	D ₃	D ₃	630	389	13 1/2" x 8 1/2"	25	24				I IV (parvans) with preface
83	1106	1694	D ₃	D ₃	423	430	12" x 8"	19			Shankar Lal		XIII XVIII (parvans)
84	1232	1817	Puna	D.C.R.I.	13	244	10" x 5 1/2"	11 1/2	Ord. No.				Farsi

The writer feels it a duty to express his sincere gratitude to the following persons for supplying particulars of the MSS. of the Razm Nama in their charge and some format on from the catalogues of foreign collections which were not available here—Khan Bahadur Maulvi Muhammad Shafi Chaman Punjab University Library Lahore Mr S S Seth Library University Library Prof Muhammad Iqbal Oriental College Lahore Maulana Imtiaz Khan Arhar Superintendent State Library Rampur The Curator State Museum and Library Gallery Banda

APPENDIX D

List of Books translated into Persian from Sanskrit at Akbar's Court.

- 1 Atharbed by Badayūni and others
 - 2 Bhagwad Gita by Faizi and other *Am̃ : Akbarī* 103-5
 - 3 Gangadhar by Abul Fazl (ib)
 - 4 Harivatsa by Maulana Sheri (bi)
 - 5 Jog Bashishta translated in A.H. 1002 [1598 A.D.] by one Maulana Faran uli a native of Faran ul near Kabul It was illustrated by court Artists of Akbar This original Ms with illustrations is with Mr A.C. Beatty
 - 6 Katha Sarit Sagara Badayuni II 401 2
 - 7 Kishen Joshi by Abul Fazl *op cit*
 - 8 Lilavati by Faizi, AA *op cit* 103 5
 - 9 Mahabharata described above
 - 10 Mahesh Mohanand by Abul Fazl AA *op cit* 103-5
 - 11 Nal Daman by Faizi *ib id*
 - 12 Smghasana Battisī by Badayuni II (Trans) 186 and it was called *Nama : Khird Afzā*
 - 13 Ramayana by Badayuni and others II (Trans) 378
- Col. H. B. Hanna claimed to possess Akbar's copy of the Ramayana with 129 full page illustrations signed by the artists Catalogue of Indo Persian Pictures and Mss collected by Col. H. B. Hanna 27 London 1890 cited by Mr Wilkinson in his the Library of Chester Beatty a Catalogue XXVII
- Mulla Mas h of Pan pat had made a poetical version of the Ramayana during Jahangir's reign *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress Calcutta 1939* 914 1662 Presidential Address of Dr Tara Chand to the Mughal Section
- 14 Tajak on Astronomy by Muhammad Khan of Gujarat *Am̃* 103-5
 - 15 Treatise of Elephants by Mulla Sheri *Darbar Akbari* 5th ed Lahore 1939 770